PAPERS

OF THE

BRITISH SCHOOL AT ROME

Vol. III.

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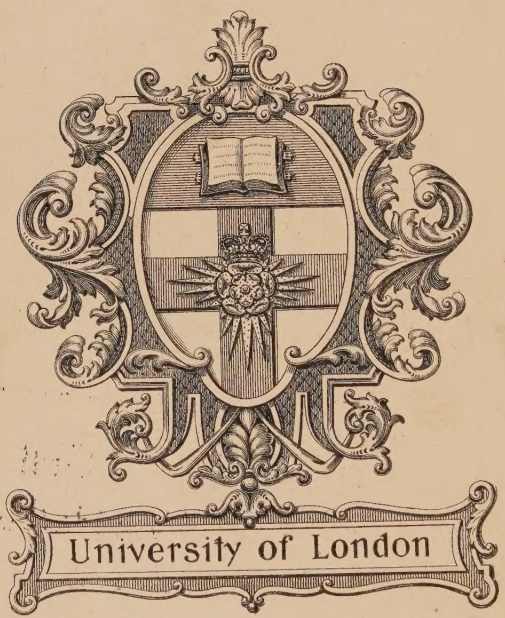

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PREFACE.

THE publication of a third volume of 'Papers' by the British School at Rome may fairly be taken as evidence of its continued activity and usefulness.

The first paper contains a further instalment of the valuable work which the Assistant-Director, Mr. Ashby, is doing for the recovery of the lost history of the Campagna Romana. In this department of study Mr. Ashby has won for himself a well-deserved reputation as an indefatigable explorer, and a scrupulously accurate observer. It may be added in proof of the estimation in which Mr. Ashby is held by foreign scholars, and also of the friendly relations existing between the British School and the other foreign schools in Rome, that some of his shorter papers have been published by the French School in their *Mélanges*.

The papers by Mr. Stuart Jones and Mr. Wace are both of them valuable contributions to the study of a subject which has only recently received its due share of attention, the growth and development of Roman historical sculpture. Of especial importance are Mr. Stuart-Jones's arguments in favour of assigning the Borghese reliefs to the time of Trajan, and Mr. Wace's claim to have discovered in the Lateran and Vatican Museums fragments of reliefs belonging to the time of Domitian, which help to fill a gap in our knowledge of the development of Roman historical reliefs.

Mr. G. F. Hill deals with one among the many instances in which drawings, in this case dating from the 15th century, throw light on the nature and history of the original antiques from which they were taken.

Miss McDowall's paper discusses a problem in the difficult field of iconography—and argues that on a contorniate, now in Paris, we have a portrait of Pythagoras taken from a lost fourth or fifth century statue.

H. F. PELHAM.

CONTENTS.

			PAGE
	PREFACE. By PROF. H. F. PELHAM		v
1.	T. ASHBY, JUN.	The Classical Topography of the Roman Campagna.—II.	1
2.	H. STUART JONES.	Notes on Roman Historical Sculptures	213
3.	A. J. B. WACE.	Fragments of Roman Historical Reliefs in the Vatican and Lateran Museums	273
4.	G. F. HILL.	Some Drawings from the Antique attributed to Pisanello	295
5.	K. A. MCDOWALL.	Pythagoras	305

LIST OF PLATES.

1. The Classical Topography of the Roman Campagna, Part II. :—

PLATE		PAGE
I, Fig.	1. View S. from Castel Giubileo : Villa Spada in the distance	22
Fig.	2. Via Salaria at Twenty-fourth mile, looking W.S.W.	32
II, Fig.	3. Villa Platform known as Grotte di Torri, W.N.W. angle	36
Fig.	4. Ponte del Diavolo, Via Salaria	38
III, Fig.	5. Tomb known as Sedia del Diavolo, Via Nomentana	45
Fig.	6. General view of sixth terrace wall on Colle Tiutillo, Palombara	78
IV, Fig.	7. Cistern on sixth terrace, Colle Tiutillo, Palombara	78
Fig.	8. Detail of sixth terrace wall on Colle Tiutillo, Palombara	78
V, Fig.	9. Detail of third terrace wall, Colle Tiutillo, Palombara	78
Fig.	10. Via Tiburtina at Bagni	120
VI, Fig.	11. Aqueduct at the travertine quarries near Bagni	123
Fig.	12. Ponte Lucano, Via Tiburtina	126
VII, Fig.	13. Relief built into a chapel near Corcolle	138
VIII, Fig.	14. Viaduct over Fosso di Ponte Terra	147
Fig.	15. Ponte dell' Acquoria	151
VII, Fig.	16. Wall of lower platform, Villa of Quintilius Varus	156
IX, Fig.	17. Nymphaeum at S. Antonio	161
Fig.	18. Ancient road on S.W. slopes of Monte Sterparo	164
X, Fig.	19. Supporting wall of ancient road on S.W. slopes of Monte Sterparo	164
Fig.	20. Supporting wall of villa platform at Colle Nocelle	168
XI, Fig.	21. Tank in platform of villa at Colle Vitriano	169
XII, Fig.	22. Lower platform of villa on Colle Vitriano	170
XI, Fig.	23. Lower platform of villa on Colle del Tesoro	172
XIII, Fig.	24. Cyclopean wall under wall of mediaeval castle, Colle Turrita	172
Fig.	25. Caves on Colle Cigliano	173

PLATE		PAGE
XII, Fig. 26.	Drain in wall of villa platform, Colle Cigliano	173
XIV, Fig. 27.	Lowest platform at Monteverde	175
Fig. 28.	Uppermost platform at Monteverde	175
XV, Fig. 29.	Walls under castle at Montecelio	183
Fig. 30.	Villa platform at Vallemara, near S. Angelo	185
XVI, Fig. 31.	Supporting wall of villa platform N. of S. Angelo	187
Fig. 32.	Villa platform at 26th kilomètre of modern highroad	189
XVII, Fig. 33.	Terrace wall of villa below Villa dei Greci	190
Fig. 34.	Upper terrace wall of villa near Regresso	191
XVIII, Fig. 35.	Lower terrace wall of villa near Regresso	191
Fig. 36.	Supporting wall of road	194
XIX, Fig. 37.	Bridge at Quarto Pomata	195

Two Maps (I, 1 : 50,000 ; II, 1 : 25,000) in pocket at end of volume.

2. Notes on Roman Historical Sculptures :—

XX, Fig. 1. Reliefs in the Villa Borghese.

Fig. 2. The Arch of Constantine, from a drawing in the possession of the Royal Scottish Academy.

XXI, Medallions from Arch of Constantine. South face.

I. Imperial Cortège.

II. Sacrifice to Silvanus.

III. Bear-hunt.

IV. Sacrifice to Artemis.

XXII, Medallions from Arch of Constantine. North face.

V. Boar-hunt.

VI. Sacrifice to Apollo.

VII. Lion-hunt.

VIII. Sacrifice to Hercules.

XXIII, I. Submission of Germans to M. Aurelius (Palazzo dei Conservatori).

II. Germans before tribunal of M. Aurelius (Arch of Constantine).

XXIV, III. } Entry of M. Aurelius into Rome, A.D. 174 (Arch of Constantine).
IV. }

XXV, V. Sarmatian captives before tribunal of M. Aurelius (Arch of Constantine).

XXVI, VI. Triumph of M. Aurelius, A.D. 176 (Palazzo dei Conservatori).

VII. Sacrifice to Jupiter Capitolinus (Palazzo dei Conservatori).

PLATE

XXVII, VIII. *Lustratio exercitus* (Arch of Constantine).
IX. *Allocutio* (Arch of Constantine).
XXVIII, X. *Allocutio in castris praetoriis*, A.D. 174 (Arch of Constantine).
XI. *Congiarium*, A.D. 176 (Arch of Constantine).
XXIX, 1. Coin of Domitian, A.D. 85 (p. 261).
2. Coin of Domitian, A.D. 95 (p. 261).
3. Coin of Domitian, A.D. 90–1 (pp. 261, 293).
4. Coin of Claudius (p. 223).
5. Coin of Trajan, A.D. 117 (p. 247, note 3).
6. Coin of M. Aurelius, A.D. 174 (pp. 259, 261).

3. FRAGMENTS OF ROMAN HISTORICAL RELIEFS IN THE LATERAN AND VATICAN MUSEUMS:—

XXX, Figs. 1–5. Fragments in the Lateran Museum.

4. SOME DRAWINGS FROM THE ANTIQUE, ATTRIBUTED TO PISANELLO:—

XXXI, Fig. 1. Drawing of the Statue of the Tiber (Berlin Museum).
Fig. 2. Drawing of the Boar-hunt (Berlin Museum).
XXXII, Drawing of Three Figures (Louvre).

5. PYTHAGORAS.

ILLUSTRATIONS IN THE TEXT.

PAGE

PAPER 2:—

Fig. 1. Trajanic Relief in Louvre 226
Fig. 2. Relief in Villa Medici—Temple of Magna Mater . . 238
Fig. 3. Relief in Villa Medici—Temple of Mars Ultor 239
Fig. 4. Relief in Uffizi—Sacrifice on Palatine 241
Fig. 5. } Medallions III. and IV. from Arch of Constantine . . . 250
Fig. 6. }

PAPER 3:—

Fig. 1. Relief. Vatican. Part of Triumph 283
Fig. 2. Fragment. Lateran. Lictors 289

PAGE

PAPER 4 :—

Fig. 1. Drawing. Head of Severina. Louvre 298
Fig. 2. „ Head of Hadrian. Louvre 299
Fig. 3. Statue of Tiber. Capitol 301
Fig. 4. Orestes, from Sarcophagus at Husillos 302
Fig. 5. Adonis Sarcophagus at Mantua (Codex Pighianus) . . . 303

PAPER 5 :—

Fig. 1. Contorniate Medallion. Pythagoras 310
Fig. 2. Bust. Capitoline Museum 311

NOTE.

Plates XXI—XXVIII are from photographs by Anderson.

Plate XXXI is from photographs by Braun.

Paper 2, Fig. 1 is from a photograph by Giraudon; Fig. 4 is from a photograph by Brogi.

ADDENDUM.

P. 221. Mr. Wace finds that the fragment from the Piazza Sciarra drawn by Pierre Jacques, f. 29, is also drawn in Cod. Vat. 3439, f. 65. No indication of provenance is given.

PAPERS OF THE BRITISH SCHOOL AT ROME.

VOL. III. NO. 1.

THE CLASSICAL TOPOGRAPHY

OF THE

ROMAN CAMPAGNA

PART II

BY

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LONDON: 1905.

INTRODUCTION

THE present is the second instalment of a description of the *Classical Topography of the Roman Campagna*, which I hope to complete in the course of time. The scale upon which it is written demands, perhaps, some explanation—and for English readers some apology. I can understand that, for those who are not well acquainted with the localities of which I am treating, it may seem that there is a quite unnecessary fulness of detail, which may tend to obscure the points at issue. But my ambition is, so far as possible, to produce a description which shall be complete up to date (more I cannot claim) and which I shall then supplement as occasion arises —as indeed I am now doing for Part i,[1] the Viae Collatina, Praenestina, and Labicana, which appeared in *Papers*, i. 125 *sqq.* What may seem superfluous and even wearisome to the reader at a distance may be of more use to one who wishes to follow the description on the spot; and I must also confess to a not unnatural desire to claim credit for all that I have seen—inasmuch as I know well that there are sure to be plenty of gaps for others to fill.[2] With regard to the citations from previous writers, too, the perusal of the mass of existing literature is, as a reviewer of the first section of my work on the Campagna in the *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift* (1903, 885 *sqq.*) remarked, a somewhat weary business; and, as I have been obliged to carry it through, with, I hope, a certain degree of completeness, for the purposes of the present work, it may not be amiss if I give my results in a fairly full form, so as to save other students the trouble of doing the same as I have done. It may be added that much unnecessary labour is caused to students by the custom of publishing practically (though not absolutely) identical reports of excavations in Rome and its neighbourhood in

[1] In the Addenda I confine myself to the more important points; bare references to the literature of the subject, whether too recent to be included in the original work, or not collected in time for it, are not as a rule given.

[2] I have not aimed at an exhaustive or complete description of the immediate suburbs of Rome: the great necropolis on the W. of the Via Salaria, for instance (*infra*, 11), would require a volume to itself.

both the *Notizie degli Scavi* and the *Bullettino Comunale* without, as a rule, the advantage of cross-references (*infra*, 41, n. 2). I need not say that there must be many omissions: though I have aimed at completeness, I know that it cannot, in the nature of the subject, be attained (*Papers*, i. 137). I have again limited myself to the consideration of the classical topography of the roads. With regard to the mediaeval period, Professor Tomassetti has dealt with the first two roads, and I shall frequently refer to his work. It appeared originally in the *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria*, but my references are made to the reprint which appeared separately in 1892. The Via Tiburtina, on the other hand, he has not yet reached: while his description of the Viae Praenestina and Labicana is now in course of publication in *Archivio cit.* and has not yet appeared separately.

As I have already observed, the completion of several other important works now in course of publication will lighten the labours of the student considerably. I refer among others to Vols. vi. and xv. of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, neither of which at present possesses indices, to Professor Lanciani's *Storia degli Scavi*, to Professor Wissowa's re-issue of Pauly's *Realencyclopädie*. It is to be regretted that there is no index of *provenances* in Kaibel's *Inscriptiones Graecae Italiae*: this is an omission which is unfortunately to be observed in several other works—notably in several of the catalogues of the chief museums of sculpture. The lack of such indices renders it difficult to attempt anything approaching completeness in one's record of discoveries in the Roman Campagna, without constructing a general index for one's own use—a task which I have not yet attempted.

The three roads which I have selected for examination, the Via Salaria, the Via Nomentana, and the Via Tiburtina, are of unequal interest to the student. The Via Salaria is, in its first portion at least, one of the oldest of Roman roads, for Antemnae and Fidenae were almost the earliest conquests of Rome in Latium; and the fact that it and the Via Latina are the exceptions to the rule that a road should take its name either from the place which it serves or from its constructor (*Papers*, i. 129) would seem to indicate that a considerable part of its course is of comparatively high antiquity.[1] Its name is said by our classical authorities to be derived from

[1] The passage of Livy (vii. 9. 6) in which he says that the Gauls in 361 B.C. 'ad tertium lapidem Salaria via trans pontem Anienis castra habuere' proves the antiquity of the road and the bridge, the latter playing an important part in the episode of Manlius Torquatus. As to the questions connected with the battle of the Allia, see *infra*, 23 *sqq.*

the fact that it was the route by which the Sabines came to fetch salt from the marshes of Ostia and Fregenae (Festus, p. 326 Müll. Salaria autem (via) propterea appellabatur, quod impetratum fuerit, ut ea liceret a mari in Sabinos salem portari: Paul. ex Fest. p. 327 Müll. Salaria via Romae est appellata, quia per eam Sabini sal a mari deferebant: Pliny, *H.N.* xxxi. 89, honoribus etiam militiaeque interponitur (sal), salariis inde dictis magna apud antiquos auctoritate, sicut adparet ex nomine Salariae viae, quoniam illa salem in Sabinos portari convenerat). In later times it became a thoroughfare of considerable importance, communicating as it did with Reate and the Adriatic coast. We have the inscriptions of five of its curatores, all men of senatorial rank and of some distinction (*Bull. Com.* 1891, 121; Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencycl.* iv. 1782). But it presents very few remains of antiquity along the part of its course which falls within the limits of the present work.[1] The Via Nomentana must also be of early origin, having had originally the name of Via Ficulensis (Livy, iii. 52. 3; *C.I.L.* xiv. p. 447): it was subsequently prolonged to Nomentum, but never became a road of first class importance,[2] and merged in the Via Salaria some miles further on.[3] It possesses, however, more objects of interest than the Via Salaria. The Via Tiburtina, on the other hand, led to a very populous and important district—not only to the city of Tibur itself, but to a territory which rivalled the Alban Hills as a resort of the wealthy Romans in summer. It must have come into existence—probably not as a regularly constructed road—during the establishment of the Latin League; and though it became an important thoroughfare in later times,[4] the first portion of it never lost its individuality, but retained its former appellation, the name Via Valeria being applied only to the portion of the road beyond Tibur (Strabo v. 3. 11, p. 238 *ἡ Οὐαλερία δ' ἄρχεται μὲν ἀπὸ Τιβούρων, ἄγει δ' ἐπὶ Μάρσους καὶ Κορφίνιον τὴν τῶν Παιλίγνων μητρόπολιν*).[5]

This fact will partly explain the disproportionate amount of space that

[1] Persichetti's *Viaggio Archeologico sulla Via Salaria nel Circondario di Cittaducale* takes up the course of the road from Rieti onwards.

[2] Both the curatores of whom we have inscriptions are men of equestrian rank (*Bull. Com.* 1891, 129).

[3] The question as to the exact point of junction is a difficult one (*infra*, 27 *sqq.*).

[4] We have inscriptions of eight of its curatores, all men of senatorial rank (*Bull. Com.* 1891, 124) and distinguished career.

[5] It is an open question whether the road ran beyond Cerfennia before the time of Claudius (*C.I.L.* ix. 5973; Besnier, *De Regione Paelignorum*, 108 n. 2).

I may seem to have devoted to it. Another reason is that archaeologists have been at work in Tivoli and its territory ever since the 15th century, and the literature of the subject is considerable—far more extensive than in the case of any other town in the neighbourhood of Rome. With Tivoli itself I do not propose to deal: that would form a sufficient subject for a separate monograph, and I have no new material to add. But I have thought it well to give a full description of the country round it, up to the gates of the town, in order, as far as possible, to cover the tracts of country between the great lines of road which form the main subject of these papers.

The maps which serve to illustrate the text have been prepared by the Italian Istituto Geografico Militare. It will be noticed that the first of them is on a smaller scale than the second: this is due to the fact that the military authorities do not now permit reproductions to be made from the map on the scale of 1: 25,000 in the immediate neighbourhood of the city, and that for some of the outlying districts it did not seem worth while to adopt the larger scale. The neighbourhood of Tivoli, on the other hand, is so full of remains of antiquity that it would have been impossible to show them properly upon a smaller map: and, even as it is, I am not sure that I have always avoided indistinctness. The positions are shown as nearly as possible, but without any claim to mathematical exactitude, inasmuch as they have not been determined by survey, but only by eye. The plans, too, which are given in the text, are sketch plans from my own measurements, though they have been worked up by a competent draughtsman, Signor Odoardo Ferretti, under my own supervision. The photographs are mostly my own, but my acknowledgments are due to Professor Lanciani for Figs. 27, 28, and to Miss Dora E. Bulwer for Figs. 15, 22, 24, 25, 26, 33.

As before, I must express my sincere thanks to Professor Lanciani and my father, with whom I have examined almost the whole of the district with which I am dealing. Others who have helped me will perhaps forgive me if their names are omitted, and believe that it is from no ingratitude on my part. But no English writer on Tivoli can omit to pay a tribute to the memory of the late Mr. F. A. Searle, of S. Antonio (*infra*, 161 *sqq.*), who, in the course of a long residence there, had made himself familiar with the topography of the district, and was ever ready to place his knowledge at the disposal of his friends. Those who knew him well can never return to Tivoli without a sense of loss; and I, who am among them,

feel that I can hardly do otherwise than dedicate these pages to his memory.

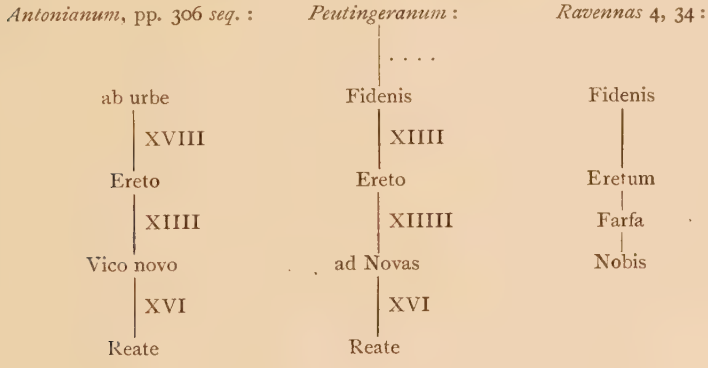
VIA SALARIA.

I.—FROM THE PORTA COLLINA TO CASTEL GIUBILEO

(from the First to the Sixth mile).

The Via Salaria, even in Republican times, undoubtedly started from the Porta Collina of the Servian wall, where it left the Via Nomentana on the right (Strabo v. 3. 1, p. 228, ἔστρωται δὲ δι' αὐτῶν (τῶν Σαβίνων) ἡ Σαλαρία ὁδὸς οὐ πολλὴ οὖσα,[1] εἰς ἣν καὶ ἡ Νωμεντανὴ συμπίπτει κατὰ Ἡρητὸν τῆς Σαβίνης κώμην ὑπὲρ τοῦ Τιβέρεως κειμένη ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πύλης ἀρχομένη τῆς Κολλίνης; Festus p. 326 Müll. Salariam viam incipere ait a porta, quae nunc Collina a colle Quirinali dicitur). The gate itself was discovered in 1872 under the N.W. angle of the Finance Ministry (*Bull. Com.* 1876, 165) and an important inscription relating to the Via Caecilia, a branch of the Via Salaria, was found in the same place (*Not. Scav.* 1896, 87; *Röm. Mitt.* 1898, 193; *C.I.L.* vi. 31603).

The itineraries give the distances as follows (*C.I.L.* ix. p. 204)



Mommsen (*ibid.* 582) reconstructs as follows

ab urbe Fidenas m. p. V
Fidenas Eretum m. p. XIIII ab urbe m. p. XIX
Ereto ad Novas s. Vicum Novum m. p. XIIII ab urbe m. p. XXXIII.

[1] The expression is somewhat strange and its meaning hard to see.

On p. 464, however, he speaks of the 'Osteria nuova de' Massacci (ubi mansio fuit ad Novas sive Vicus novus m. p. xxxii a Roma, m. p. xvi a Reate)' and in commenting on the two milestones numbered xxxi of Augustus and of Julian the Apostate (*C.I.L.* ix. 5943, 5944) he speaks of them as existing 'prope Ponticelli (a meridie mansionis Vicinovi . . . m. p. xvii vel xviii a Reate) ad S. Mariae *della Quercia*.' But a measurement along the road as marked by Kiepert gives only about fifteen miles from Reate to Osteria Nuova, which is on the map less than two miles from Madonna della Quercia, which is again about a mile and a half from the 29th mile from Rome, shown on the edge of my map (No. i.) a little beyond the Ponte del Diavolo. (It must further be noted that the line of the road as given by Kiepert in his Carta dell' Italia Centrale (passing N.N.E. from the Osteria Nerola first along the line of the boundary of the provinces of Rome and Perugia, and then along a communal boundary past the Osteria dell' Olmo) though it is likely enough to be ancient (I have not explored it) can hardly be taken to be the Via Salaria, inasmuch as by following it the road would miss both the Ponte del Diavolo and the milestones at the Madonna della Quercia, while the distance would be still further reduced.) The measurements in my map, however, can only be approximate, as the course of the road is uncertain, and they have very probably been made in rather too straight a line.[1] In any case, assuming that the milestones at the Madonna della Quercia are not far from their original position—whether they are *in situ* or no, we are not told—the discrepancy of half a mile may fairly claim excuse. From Osteria Nuova again it is, on the map, a short two miles to the Ponte Buido, which Persichetti rightly, as it seems, identifies with the 'pons in fluvio ad miliarium xxxv' of *C.I.L.* vi. 31603, at which the Via Caecilia diverged from the Via Salaria (*Röm. Mitt.* 1898, 197).

These considerations have an important bearing on the question of the site of Eretum, which is somewhat uncertain. Fidenae was undoubtedly 5 miles from Rome (*infra*, 18) and according to the Antonine Itinerary Eretum would lie 13 miles further on, according to the Tabula Peutingerana 14. The former agrees better with the statement of Dionysius (xi. 3) that it lay 140 stadia (17½ miles) from Rome, and near

[1] It will be seen that the catacombs of S. Anthimus are, according to them, about 22½ miles from Rome, whereas our ancient authorities vary, some indicating them as 22, others as 28 miles from Rome (*infra*, 31).

the Tiber; but the latter seems to suit the position of the 'pons in fluvio ad milliarium xxxv' inasmuch as 'ad milliarium xxxv' covers, according to Latin usage, the whole extent up to the 36th milestone. The views of topographers on the subject are various (*infra*, 27 *sqq.*).

As to the initial portion of the road, a difficult point is raised by the catalogues of Christian cemeteries, which take us back to the fourth century. In these we find the Via Salaria Vetus distinguished from the Via Salaria (Nova).[1] The Nova is undoubtedly the straight road from the Porta Collina to the Porta Salaria of the Aurelian wall, and so on along the line followed by the modern road; but as to the Vetus there is more question.[2] De Rossi (*Bull. Crist.* 1894, 6 *sqq.*) makes it diverge from the Nova at the Porta Collina, identifying it with a road which passes under the Aurelian wall (which blocked its course completely) between the second and third towers to the W. of the Porta Salaria, and thence ran up to the Bivio del Leoncino, at the E. angle of the villa Borghese.[3] He then makes it follow the Via dei Parioli, sending off a branch from the bivio to join the Salaria Nova. The three cemeteries which the catalogues[4] mention as existing along its course are, that of Pamphilus, that of S. Hermes, or of Basilla, and a third called 'ad Septem Palumbas,' 'ad caput S. Iohannis,' or 'ad Clivum Cucumeris,' the first and second of which have been discovered (Marucchi, *Guida delle Catacombe Romane* (1903) 520 *sqq.*), the former at the point of divergence of the Vicolo di S. Filippo, the latter in a vineyard now belonging to the German College, rather further along, on the S.W. side of the road. The third has not yet been found, but must be upon the descent (in which traces of the ancient paving may be seen[5]) to the N.W. of the cemetery of S. Hermes.

[1] The word Nova is not actually used in the catalogues, which speak of it simply as Via Salaria; but the addition is convenient as serving to distinguish the two roads, and is generally made.

[2] By an unfortunate error for which I am responsible the district to the W. of the Salaria Nova has not been included in my map: though the smallness of its scale would hardly have admitted of the necessary clearness in indicating the topographical details of this district.

[3] Its pavement was found in 1891 at 3 mètres below the modern level, just outside the Aurelian wall, and 3 mètres further down was found another pavement of gravel, pointing to its being a road of considerable antiquity (*Bull. Com.* 1891, 290; *Not. Scav.* 1891, 132).

[4] A recently discovered catalogue is given by Stevenson (*Bull. Crist.* 1897, 255), but it does not add to our knowledge of this district.

[5] The Vicolo delle Tre Madonne, the Vicolo dell' Arco Oscuro (both of which diverge S.S.W. from this road) and the cross road connecting them N.E. of the Villa di Papa Giulio are all, probably, of ancient origin, as are, indeed, all the lanes in this district (*Bull. Com.* 1891, 144).

If, however, we follow this descent we arrive at the foot of the Monti Parioli, not far from the Ponte Molle; and if we accept the name of Via Salaria Vetus for this road, we must, if we wish to press the meaning of the name for the whole road,[1] either suppose that it pursued a winding course to the W. and N. of Antemnæ to reach the crossing of the Anio, or else abandon any attempt to connect it with the line of the road as we know it.

It might be possible, on the other hand, to assume that the Vicolo di S. Filippo, which is certainly an ancient road, represents the line of the primitive Via Salaria, though in that case it might be objected that neither the cemetery of S. Hermes nor the Clivus Cucumeris lies actually upon its line; and we have no evidence that it ever descended to the bridge over the Anio. Tomassetti, *Vie Nomentana e Salaria*, 6 seems to favour this view. Lanciani solves the difficulty in another way (*Forma Urbis*, 2, 9, 16), making the Salaria Vetus begin in the Via Capo le Case, the Porta Pinciana being left as an aperture[2] for it in the Aurelian wall, and join the road regarded by De Rossi and others (cf. Gatti, *Not. Scav.* 1899, 51) as the Salaria Vetus—but which he marks as 'Diverticulum a Via Salaria Vetere ad Portam Collinam' (*Forma Urbis*, 3)—at the Bivio del Leoncino, and the Salaria Nova a little further on—before the crossing of the new Viale dei Parioli.[3] In that case one would have to assume that it originally left the Servian wall by the Porta Ratumena or Fontinalis at the N.E. angle of the

The discovery of pavement *in situ* in the Via dei Parioli, and of a fragment of a sepulchral inscription, is described in *Bull. Com.* 1892, 292. I copied there, at the beginning of the descent, a tufa cippus still *in situ* on the S.W. edge of the road, bearing the following inscription in letters of the last century of the Republic. The letters are 8 cm. high.

VS · II
N · FRON
PE · XX · IN
RO · PXX

In the Vicolo di S. Filippo a cippus of the Aqua Virgo may still be seen *in situ* (*C.I.L.* vi. 31565d).

[1] This is, probably, hardly necessary. Aringhi, *Roma Subterranea*, ii. 94, quotes an instrument of Charlemagne, preserved in the Archives of S. Peter's, which speaks of the 'Salaria vetus quae dividitur ad pontem Molui.'

[2] Jordan, *Topogr.* i. 1. 354; Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations*, 75.

[3] It became known as Via Pinciana in the early middle ages, and William of Malmesbury say of it 'cum pervenit ad Salariam nomen perdit' (Urlichs, *Cod. Urb. Rom. Top.* 87).

Capitoline hill, diverging from the Via Flaminia not far from the gate, or more probably by the Porta Salutaris or Quirinalis (a little below the Quattro Fontane). This would add another mile to its course (rather more in the first case, rather less in the second) which would perhaps suit the Itineraries better (*supra*, 8) but the supposition is somewhat improbable for other reasons; and it is open to the objection which applies to the Vicolo di S. Filippo, but in an even stronger form, as such a line passes to the E. even of the Cemetery of Pamphilus. Fabretti (*De Aquis*, Diss. iii, Tab. ii) places the divergence of the two roads at the Porta Salaria, and Lanciani (*Forma Urbis*, 3) does mark a 'Diverticulum a Via Salaria Vetere ad Portam Salariam,' following Bufalini (1551).

The discoveries which have been made between the Porta Collina and the Porta Salaria do not concern us here. The Porta Salaria is, as it stands, entirely modern, having been rebuilt after the bombardment of September 20th, 1870. The removal of the towers of the gate of Honorius[1] led to the discovery of several tombs (Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations*, 75; Jordan,[2] *Topogr.* 1. 3. 437). Immediately outside the gate, to the W. of the road, begins one of the most extensive cemeteries that have come to light in the outskirts of the city. The majority of the tombs belong, as Professor Hülsen remarks (*loc. cit.*) to the lower orders, and many of them are columbaria. Thousands of tombs have been found in the last two centuries, and it appears that the troops stationed in the Praetorian Camp were buried here. Several columbaria belonging to the end of the Republican and the beginning of the Imperial period, and in a very fine state of preservation, were found in 1896-1900 on the site now occupied by a new Carmelite monastery. They were arranged in four rows, separated by three narrow roads, parallel to the Via Salaria Vetus of De Rossi (Gatti, *Not. Scav. cit.*). The inscriptions are given in *C.I.L.* vi. p. 3439 *sqq.* and *Not. Scav.* 1900, 499, 574 (cf. 634), 1901, 15, and earlier discoveries are summarized by Hülsen (*loc. cit.*) and Homo, *Essai sur le Règne de l'Empereur Aurélien* (*Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises* fasc. 89) p. 229, n. 6. Other discoveries are still occurring in this necropolis in consequence of building operations (cf. *Not. Scav. passim* and especially 1904, 436).

[1] A view of the gate, which had two round towers and three windows above the arch, may be found in Nibby and Gell, *Mura di Roma*, tav. viii.

[2] This, the concluding volume of the work, is from the pen of Prof. Hülsen, who has kindly allowed me to see the work in proof.

The inscription *C.I.L.* vi. 10241, found in 1725, in the Vigna Pelura outside the Porta Salaria, gives us the name of a landowner in this district. 'D. M. M. Herenni Proti . . . fecerunt parentes . . . chirographum ollaria n. iiii cineraria n. . . . iiii intrantibus parte laeva que sunt in monumento T. Flavi Apollodori quod est Via Salaria in agro Volusi Basilides ientibus ab urbe parte sinistra.'

Important mausolea are rare, though a striking exception is formed by the fine round mausoleum of Lucilius Paetus in the Vigna Bertone (*C.I.L.* vi. 32932). It consists of a circular base, 34 mètres in diameter, of blocks of travertine, which encloses a mass of earth upon which a conical mound was probably placed. The sepulchral chamber was perhaps transformed into a Christian burying place late in the fourth century (Marucchi, *Catacombe*, 388 n. 1). Here and elsewhere the tombs of the second and third centuries A.D. lie at a much higher level, and Professor Lanciani conjectures (*Pagan and Christian Rome*, 284) that the earth which Trajan excavated for the construction of his Forum was dumped here.

A cippus of the pomerium as enlarged by Claudius was found (whether *in situ* or not we do not know) in the Vigna Naro in 1738, at about 300 mètres from the Porta Salaria (*C.I.L.* vi. 31537c); and a cippus of the octroi line of Marcus Aurelius was copied 'in Via Salaria' by the Anonymus Einsiedlensis. If Lanciani's conjecture, that the wall of Aurelian followed the octroi line, is correct, it must originally have stood close to the gate (*Bull. Com.* 1892, 94; Homo, *op. cit.* 233). On the E. of the road there seem to have been hardly any tombs, A road goes off to join the Via Nomentana (the Vicolo della Fontana) forming the boundary of the Villa Albani, which very likely follows an ancient line (Lanciani, *Forma Urbis*, 3—after Bufalini). Its course is uncertain for a while: it may have fallen into the Via Nomentana at the first kilomètre; but it seems more probable that it went straight on, its line being taken up again by the Vicolo degli Alberoni, in the boundary walls of which there are several paving stones, and which seems to follow an old line; and that it then went on through the valley and joined the cross road known as the Vicolo di S. Agnese (*infra*, 13). Of the Via dei Parioli and the Vicolo di S. Filippo we have already spoken (*supra*, 9, 10). Remains of Roman villas are scanty, and Lanciani (*Bull. Com.* 1891, 147) cautions his readers that many of the architectural fragments to be seen in the vineyards are not of local provenance.

The Via Salaria turns several degrees further E. and then runs straight on between the boundary walls of modern villas.

Lanciani, *Storia degli Scavi*, i. 170, cites from Albertini, *Opusculum de Mirabilibus* (ed. 1515) f. 63^{v}, the description of a tomb 'extra urbem uia Salaria prope portā . . . in uinea ad similitudinem templi constructum, in quo Caereris et Bacchi picturae cum uitibus et uasibus hydriarū depictae uisunt. quae omnia Petrus Paulus de Symeonib. ro. mihi ondit apud uineā non lōge a porta Salaria.' He considers that the reference is not to S. Costanza (*infra*, 42) but to a tomb belonging to the Via Salaria, of which we have no other record. He also (*op. cit.* 220) mentions a permission given on Nov. 29, 1523, to Catherine of Albano, to excavate in her own vineyard on the Via Salaria.

The site of the first milestone would fall a little beyond the new Viale dei Parioli, and the second close to the catacomb of S. Priscilla.

A little before the latter is reached, the Vicolo di S. Agnese, which almost certainly represents the line of an ancient road, goes off E.S.E. to the Via Nomentana in a straight line, reaching it close to the church of S. Agnese. On the N.W. side of the Via Salaria at this point the tufa blocks of the margo may be seen for some distance under the modern boundary wall.[1]

In this district, between the two roads, according to Duchesne (*Lib. Pont.* i. 197 n. 82), was situated the Civitas Figlina: cf. the passion of S. Susanna (*Acta SS.* Aug. ii. 632) who is said to have been buried 'iuxta corpora sanctorum Chrysanthi et Dariae Via Salaria, in arenario iuxta sanctum Alexandrum, in civitate Figlina,'[2] and that of SS. Marius, Martha and others (*Acta SS.* Ian. ii. 216) 'tenuit (imperator) cclx christianos Via Salaria, quos iussit ut in figlinis foras muros portae Salariae . . . includerentur.' Tomassetti, however, (*op. cit.* 28) prefers to connect the Civitas Figlina with Ficulea (*infra*, 61 *sqq.*) but wrongly. The brickworks of the Via Salaria were of considerable importance (*C.I.L.* xv. 478-529,[3] 683), those of the Via Nomentana less extensive (*ibid.* 677-682) but their exact site is not to be gathered from the stamps. The only possible brick earth

[1] Tomassetti, *op. cit.* 25 n. 1, erroneously refers some of the discoveries of tombs made immediately outside the Aurelian walls to this portion of the road.

[2] For S. Chrysanthus and S. Daria see Marucchi, *op. cit.* 404. The S. Alexander mentioned is a son of S. Felicitas (*ibid.* 400).

[3] Nos. 530–532 also belong to the *figlinae* of the Via Salaria, but probably (not certainly) to kilns situated further along the road, in the Sabine territory.

is to be found in the valleys of the Anio and Tiber (*Bull. Com.* 1892, 92 n. 2: cf. *ibid.* 91 for the use of bricks from these brickworks in buildings in the neighbourhood of the Praetorian Camp).

The road soon turns to run due N. and descends through a cutting, which has been considerably enlarged in modern times, to the Ponte Salario. Near the beginning of the cutting, on the left, is the entrance to the catacomb of S. Priscilla, which extends also under the road (as does the 'Coemeterium Iordanorum', less than a mile further back). It is fully described by Marucchi, *Catacombe Romane*, 416 *sqq.* Close by, in the Villa Amici, a columbarium with paintings was found by D'Agincourt (*C.I.L.* vi. 7997-8011). The hill above the catacomb was known in the 16th century as the Monte delle Gioie (De Rossi, *Bull. Crist.* 1890, 97; Lanciani, *Bull. Com.* 1891, 323; *Storia degli Scavi*, i. 73). Further down, on the right of the descent, four tombs were discovered in 1879, the remains of two of which are still visible (cf. *Not. Scav.* 1883, 82),[1] while the paving of the old road was recently uncovered in clearing out the modern ditch.

On the left of the road is the hill, now crowned by a fort, once occupied by the primitive village of Antemnae said to have been conquered by Romulus.[2] The meaning of the name is explained as 'ante amnem i.e. Anienem' by Varro, *L.L.* v. 28, inasmuch as it stands at the point where the Anio falls into the Tiber, thus occupying a position of great strength. Plutarch (*Sulla*, 30) mentions it in connexion with the battle of the Porta Collina in 82 B.C. in such a manner as to indicate that it was not far from the city. Strabo mentions it, with Collatia, Fidenae, and Labici, as among the old fortified towns near Rome which had in his time become mere villages, Κολλατία δ' ἦν καὶ Ἀντέμναι καὶ Φιδῆναι καὶ Λαβικὸν καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα τότε μὲν πολίχνια, νῦν δὲ κῶμαι, κτήσεις ἰδιωτῶν, ἀπὸ τριάκοντα ἢ μικρῷ πλειόνων τῆς Ῥώμης σταδίων[3] (v. 3. 2, p. 230), and Pliny (*H.N.* iii. 68) names it among the cities of Latium which had disappeared in his day. The indications given by our ancient authorities are sufficiently clear to make the identification certain, and there has never been any real doubt as to the site: while absolute certainty was brought by the excavations in connexion with the construction of the fort

[1] The 'Ruderi' marked in the map are not ancient.

[2] Hülsen in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.* i. 2350.

[3] The inclusion of Labici is a piece of careless writing, for as Strabo himself well knew (v. 3. 9, p. 237) it was fifteen or more miles from Rome.

in 1882–86 (*Not. Scav.* 1882, 415; 1883, 16; 1886, 24; 1887, 64; cf. Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations*, 111), when the remains of the primitive city were discovered. Some traces of walling were found both on the N. and S., at two points where the existence of gates is probable (Nibby, *Analisi*, i. 161, supposes that there were four gates in all, but Lanciani admits three only), built in somewhat irregular opus quadratum of blocks of capellaccio (an inferior variety of tufa), not very carefully squared, 0·89 m. in length on an average, and 0·59 in height (*Ruins and Excavations, cit.*). Remains of the foundations of huts were also discovered, and a good deal of local pottery, corresponding to that found in the earlier strata of the Esquiline necropolis, with a considerable admixture of Etruscan bucchero and Graeco-Chalcidian ware; and there were even a few sporadic objects of the stone age.

The water supply of the city was well cared for: besides the springs at the foot of the hill on the N., there were several wells and a cistern within the circuit of the walls. One of the former is no less than 54 feet deep, while the cistern (*Ruins and Excavations*, fig. 43), destroyed soon after its discovery, was of great interest.

The N. portion of the site was later on occupied by a villa at the end of the Republican or commencement of the Imperial period, considerable remains of which were found, among them a cistern divided into three chambers. Two brick stamps of the first century A.D. (*C.I.L.* xv. 670b, 864) were found loose near these ruins. On the E. side some burials under tiles were discovered, dating perhaps from the time of the abandonment of the villa: the coins found with the bodies were illegible. Two inscribed cippi were also found in use in the repairs of the villa itself. It may be that the discoveries of 1822, of which Tomassetti speaks (*op. cit.* 30),[1] are to be referred to this site—remains of a villa 'sulla collinetta da cui si gode verso tramontana la prospettiva del basso Aniene.' If so, the find-spot of the sarcophagus with a relief of the Nereids must be on the E. of the road. Or, if we refer the villa to a site E. of the Ponte Salario (*infra*, 45), then the sarcophagus may have been found near the Sedia del Diavolo (*ibid.*).

The comparison which Professor Lanciani makes and develops between Antemnae and the early city on the Palatine is interesting and important;

[1] He also mentions excavations made in the tenuta of Ponte Salario in 1821, the result of which is unknown.

and it is a pity that military exigencies rendered it impossible to explore the site thoroughly, and to preserve the remains which were discovered. I do not know even where the pottery that was found is kept.

The Ponte Salario by which the road crosses the Anio has been thrice destroyed in comparatively recent times, and little of the ancient structure now remains except the greater portion of the small arches on each side. It was cut in 1849 for a length of fifteen mètres by the French in their attack on Rome (*Rapport de la Commission Mixte pour constater les dégâts, etc.* (Paris, 1850), 42). A photograph of it after it was blown up in 1867 is given in Lanciani's *Destruction of Ancient Rome*, p. 149, fig. 26. Canina (*Edifizi*, vi. tav. 178) gives views of it. It had one central arch and two smaller side arches of tufa with voussoirs of travertine. The parapets which were thrown into the river in 1798, bore the inscription of Narses, who restored the bridge under Justinian in 565 A.D.[1] (*C.I.L.* vi. 1199).

Not far from the bridge the funeral inscription of C. Sallustius Martialis, a soldier of the 10th Cohors Urbana, and holding a post called 'a quaestionibus praefecti urbis' was seen in the 16th century 'in praedio Cardinalis Tranensis' (*C.I.L.* vi. 2880=32718).

On the left of the road a little beyond the bridge is a large square tomb of tufa concrete (the facing of rectangular blocks, having, as usual, disappeared) with a chamber in the form of a Greek cross within, and a mediaeval tower above. The Staff map marks a tomb on the right also; but the loose blocks in the field at this point may belong to the old bridge.

From the Ponte Salario the modern high road follows the valley of the Tiber[2] as far as the railway station of Passo Correse, keeping at the foot

[1] Nibby, *op. cit.* ii. 594, cites Procopius, *Bell. Goth.* iii. 24, *fin.*, as stating that Narses destroyed all the bridges over the Anio; but the passage runs Τωτίλας δὲ καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι λύσαντες τὴν προσεδρείαν εἰς Τίβουριν πόλιν ἀφίκοντο πάσας σχεδόν τι τὰς τοῦ Τιβέριδος γεφύρας διελόντες, ὅπως μὴ Ῥωμαῖοι εὐπετῶς σφίσιν ἐπιέναι οἷοί τε ὦσι. γέφυραν μέντοι μίαν, ἣ Μιλβίου ἐπώνυμός ἐστι, διαφθεῖραι οὐδαμῇ ἴσχυσαν, ἐπεὶ ἄγχιστα τῆς πόλεως ἐτύγχανεν οὖσα. It certainly looks, however, as if Procopius had here, as in iii. 10 (where he says that Tibur lay on the Tiber about 120 stadia (15 miles)—a rough measurement—from Rome, so that Totila's occupation of it prevented the Romans from bringing provisions down by river from Tuscany!), confused the Anio with the Tiber. The Pons Milvius is of course the bridge by which the Via Flaminia crosses the Tiber, and there was no bridge across the Tiber above it until the Via Flaminia recrossed it near Otricoli, nor any bridge below it, except those actually within the city of Rome. Besides, it would have been the bridges over the Anio which it was important to destroy.

Bartoli (*Mem.* 135, in Fea, *Misc.* i. 260) notices that, during winter flood in the time of Innocent XI, one of the banks of the river fell in, and a large marble sarcophagus was found by some boatmen, who broke it to pieces, thinking that treasure was concealed in it. He does not give the exact locality of the discovery.

[2] Guattani's view (*Mon. Sabini*, i. 40, cf. 147 n.—the book which he there cites is unknown

of the hills which flank it on the E., and hardly ever changing in level. No traces of pavement have, so far as I know, been discovered except in 1889, when a few paving stones were found in a hole made below Villa Spada for a telegraph pole along the railway (*Not. Scav.* 1889, 110). The ancient road, therefore, kept more under the hills than the modern, as the remains of tombs indicate (*infra*, 20), but the level was much the same. Westphal (*Römische Kampagne*, 127, 128) remarks that there are no traces of the old road along the modern one except, in places, up to the 16th mile, large paving stones of limestone; and remains of ancient buildings are comparatively scanty. This fact has considerably complicated the difficult problem as to the exact point at which the ancient Via Salaria left the river valley (*infra*, 27).

On the right of the road, close to the Torre Boschetto, are some remains in opus reticulatum, belonging probably to a villa. The Torre Serpentara does not seem to rest upon ancient foundations; no traces, at least, are at present to be seen, the brickwork of the lower part of the tower being mediaeval; and there are no other remains to be seen until we arrive at Fidenae. Lanciani (*Bull. Com.* 1891, 328) records the discovery of a cinerary urn and of a roof tile with the stamp *C.I.L.* xv. 864 between the Torre Serpentara and the fountain of the farmhouse S. of the Villa Spada.

The site of Fidenae, which was for some while the frontier of the Roman territory and often in the hands of Veii,[1] can be fairly closely fixed. Cluver (*Italia antiqua*, 656 l. 2) placed it a little beyond Castel Giubileo, N.E. of Casale di Sette Bagni, and Kircher (*Latium*, 219) followed him, while Nibby (*op. cit.* ii. 51), Gell (*Topography of Rome and its Vicinity*, 248), and Dennis (*Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*, i. 48) place the arx at Castel Giubileo, and the city on the height to the E. on the further side of the Via Salaria. It is unlikely that the town should have been cut in two by the high road, so that Holste (*ad Cluv. loc. cit.*) is probably right in fixing the site at Villa Spada; and his view has been followed by the majority of modern topographers, though Nissen (*Ital. Landeskunde*, ii. 605) prefers Nibby's view. It must be confessed, however, that though proof is not

to me, and the reference cannot be to a main road, but to a mere lane) that the road may have taken to the hills directly after the bridge, is incorrect. Holste (*ad Cluv.* p. 709, l. 22) is referring to the divergence after Malpasso (*infra*, 24).

[1] For its history in early times cf. *C.I.L.* xiv. p. 453.

lacking that the Roman village stood by the road, just below the Villa Spada to the S., remains of an earlier period, and, in particular, traces of walls or artificial defences, are conspicuous by their absence: while the nature of the ground is such that one site is really as good as another. Excavations might very likely solve the problem, but nothing of the kind has so far been undertaken: while the existence of undoubted tombs cut in the low tufa cliffs N. of the Villa Spada, on the E. edge of the railway, tombs which belong probably to pre-Roman times, does not suffice to exactly determine the site of the earliest settlement. We have, however, no reason to suppose that there has been any material change. We know from the Tabula Peutingerana that in imperial times Fidenae lay on the Via Salaria, and Dionysius (ii. 53, iii. 27, x. 22) gives the distance at 40 stadia (5 miles)—though Eutropius (i. 4, 19) puts it at 6 miles from Rome—and tells us (as does Livy, iv. 34. 6) that it lay near the Tiber. And various discoveries have confirmed the identification with the Villa Spada, which, as will be seen from the map, is just over five miles from the Porta Collina. The site is well enough adapted for a primitive settlement, being isolated on every side by fairly deep valleys, except for a narrow stretch to the E.N.E. of the Villa Spada, which itself occupies the S.W. portion of the plateau, and must have served as the acropolis. It has been occupied by a villa[1] of the imperial period of which an open water reservoir is the most conspicuous portion remaining,[2] and not by the Roman village, which lay rather at the foot of the hill close to the high road. The accounts of its desolation are probably to some extent exaggerated: Cicero (*de leg. agr.* ii. 35. 96) speaks of it as almost deserted, classing it with Labici and Collatia; Strabo (*supra*, 14) mentions it with Collatia and Antemnae as an old town, the site of which had then passed into private hands: Horace (*Epist.* i. 11. 8) and Juvenal (vi. 57, x. 100) scorn it as the type of desolation, ranking it with Gabii, which, however, enjoyed a certain amount of prosperity under the Empire (cf. *Papers*, i. 188). We hear, too, of the collapse of a temporary amphitheatre at Fidenae in A.D. 27, in which many

[1] The brickstamp 931b, of the period of Hadrian, copied at Villa Spada in 1741, may belong to this building.

[2] A little to the E. of this reservoir a round shaft 68 cm. in diameter with footholes (descending probably to a subterranean cistern) has recently been found; and some caves further E., though now much altered, may have served for the same purpose, as a round shaft communicating with them from above seems to be of Roman origin (Gori, *Dal Ponte Salario a Fidene Crustumerio ed Ereto*—reprinted from *Giorn. Arcad.* clxxiv. (1863)—9). It may be noted that the contention of this author, that the Via Salaria came up to the Villa Spada itself, is quite unwarranted (*supra*, 17).

thousand persons perished—Suetonius (*Tib.* 40) puts the number of killed at 20,000, Tacitus (*Ann.* iv. 63) the total number of casualties at 50,000. Most of the spectators must, it is true, have come from Rome: and the structure was probably erected on the flat ground by the river for convenience.

The place must have possessed, however, a certain importance as a post station.[1] Close to the road, in 1889, was found the actual curia[2] of the village, a hall facing W., the back wall of which was formed by the rock itself, cut perpendicularly and cemented: while the W. wall had an arch formed by two pilasters and two columns. It was decorated with marble, and on the pavement lay a marble base, which no doubt supported a statue, with a dedication to M. Aurelius by the Senatus Fidenatium, made during the lifetime of Antoninus Pius (140 A.D.) and some fragments of other inscriptions and parts of two statues (*Not. Scav.* 1889, 108; *Eph. Epig.* vii. 1268–1270, 1275). The 'Casale di Villa Spada,' the farmhouse immediately to the S. of the hill, is built upon a portion of a brick edifice of the Roman period:[3] the foundations of some of its walls may also be seen in the floor of the yard, and various fragments have been observed here (*C.I.L.* xiv. 4060; *Bull. Com.* 1891, 327). It was very likely here that the boundary stone bearing the inscription *public(um) Fid(enatium) L. Manili(us) Q.F. L. Marci(us) L.F. duo virei iii terminavere*, which is attributed to the early part of the first century B.C., was copied fifty years ago. It has now disappeared (*C.I.L.* xiv. 4063).

Two other inscriptions of which we have record were probably found in the curia.

The first (*C.I.L.* xiv. 4057) is a dedication of unknown date (some time early in the second century) to the Numen Domus Augustae of a building or statue which was restored by the Senate after a fire (the place and date of its discovery are unknown); and the other (*ibid.* 4058) is a dedication to

[1] The quarries of Fidenae are mentioned by Vitruvius (ii. 7. 1) and Pliny (*H.N.* xxxvi. 167) as producing soft stone. The tufa here is, as a fact, not of a very good quality.

[2] Its site is indicated on the map a little to the S.W. of the F of Fidenae.

[3] Nibby (*Schede*, iv. 1[v]) describes it as follows: 'ruderi di una fabbrica di opera laterizia composta principalmente del cryptoportico (*a*) con fenestre e feritoie nell' alto. La costruzione è di mattoni sottili con inter . . . e somiglia a quella delle terme Antoniane; forse è un avanzo di villa o di una parte della Fidene romana' (cf. *Viaggio*, i. 76). He then passes to the reservoir at the Villa 'Edificio quadrato ad emplecton di scaglie di selce forse avanzo di conserva: la larghezza è di passi ord. 25 la lunghezza di 6. 8. [?] il lato settentrionale è in parte rovinato; il meridionale ed occid. hanno ristaur di opera mista dei tempi bassi.'

The reference is to some volumes of Nibby's MS. notes now in my possession (*Papers*, i. 177 n.).

Gallienus (in which the two chief magistrates of the place still bear the title of dictator) by the Senate itself found in 1767 'near the Villa Spada.'

The village cannot have extended far to the N. of the Curia, for there would have been no space for it at the foot of the hills: and, besides, about 100 yards to the N. of it (or rather more) just below the Villa Spada itself a tomb was discovered in 1889, consisting of two chambers cut in the rock, the outer of which had a mosaic floor, while upon the architrave over the doorway leading to the inner chamber was the inscription 'Ti(berio) Apronio Apolloni f(ilio) Fab(ia) Apollonio | hic sepultus est.' From this inscription we learn for the first time the tribe to which Fidenae belonged. The tomb had apparently been made use of for later burials, one of the tiles of which bore the stamp *C.I.L.* xv. 408e (reign of Caracalla?) and another, the Christian monogram ☧ of the Constantinian period (*Not. Scav.* 1889, 110; *Eph. Epig.* vii. 1273; *Bull. Com.* 1891, 326).

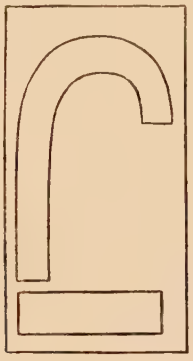
The inscription is republished with the reading Atronio, with a full description of the tomb—as though it were a new discovery!—in *Bull. Com.* 1905, 110; cf. *Rendiconti Lincei*, 1904, 391; *Not. Scav.* 1904, 402. Whether the new reading or the old is correct I do not know, as the tomb is rightly kept closed for its better preservation. Two hundred yards N. of the Curia some tombs of the 3rd century A.D. were discovered, the bodies being covered by tiles forming a pent roof; the tiles in one case bore the stamp *C.I.L.* xv. 831 (A.D. 123-128), and at the end of the tomb a marble slab was fixed into the ground, which bore the sepulchral inscription (*Not. Scav.* 1889, 109; *Eph. Epig.* vii. 1274).

Other sepulchral inscriptions will be found in *C.I.L.* xiv. 4067, 4072: while two Greek inscriptions (Kaibel, *I.G.I.* 1688, 1689) of the Christian period are dealt with by De Rossi in *Bull. Crist.* 1892, 43 *sqq.* and tav. ii, who refutes the common idea that Fidenae was ever an episcopal see. Guattani (writing in 1828) says 'fu di recente in Villa Spada tentato uno scavamento, ma con poco profitto, non essendosi trovato che un' urna di marmo con un teschio coperto di una richissima stoffa messa ad oro, che al tocco dell' aria si disfece al solito' (*Mon. Sabini*, ii. 360). Whether the reference is to Castellani's excavations seems doubtful. Another part of the necropolis of the Roman village of Fidenae was situated to the N.E. of the Villa Spada, at the point marked 62 mètres above sea-level on the staff map. Here, in 1883, a group of tombs and sarcophagi were found: one of the latter was decorated with a basrelief representing

Theseus slaying the Minotaur (*Arch. Zeit.* 1884, 273) and bore the inscription *C.I.L.* xiv. 4062. Here was also found the fragment *ibid.* 4059 (see the correction in *Eph. Epig.* vii. 1267, and De Rossi, *Bull. Crist.* 1887, 153) belonging to the tombstone of a tribune of the 20th legion of the 1st or 2nd century A.D.

A terra-cotta sarcophagus with the stamp *C.I.L.* xiv. 4073 and a lamp bearing the stamp *C.I.L.* xv. 6557 were also found.

Besides the tombs, remains of a farmhouse, with the dolia arranged in quincunx fashion, came to light (*Not. Scav.* 1883, 372). Fragments of brick, etc. are still to be seen on the ground: one which I saw bore an unknown stamp. Upon the same hill, but a little further to the S., apparently, a



villa was discovered a few years later; the atrium was paved with mosaic, and architectural fragments of marble were present. In the walls a copy of the brickstamp *C.I.L.* xv. 375 (126 A.D.) was seen (*Bull. Com.* 1891, 327).

The next hill to the N. is, as we have seen, the site selected by some authors for the city of Fidenae. Nibby (*Analisi*, ii. 61)[1] notices the abundance of fragments of pottery (which I was unable to find), some remains in opus reticulatum near the S.W. angle of the plateau, and a subterranean passage cut in the rock (indicated also by Dennis, *op. cit.* 48, and D on plan), which has been explored by Tomassetti (*op. cit.* 78), who found that

[1] In his earlier work, the *Viaggio* (i. 85) published in 1819, he states that squared blocks of stone (not *in situ*) were to be seen, which must have belonged to the walls. At that time he placed the arx at the highest point of the hill over the modern road, excluding Castel Giubileo from the circuit of the town.

it led to a reservoir with several branches and vertical shafts communicating with the upper air, of a type common in the Roman Campagna. The entrance is roundheaded, about 5 feet high and a foot and a half in width, and looks like the exit of a drain.

That, however, it could have been the *cuniculus* by which, according to Livy (iv. 22), the Romans penetrated into the arx is most improbable: and, besides, if the arx was at Villa Spada, as Tomassetti rightly supposes (though he is in error in calling Villa Spada a stronger position than Castel Giubileo), the passage is in the wrong hill! Gori (*op. cit.* 9) speaks as if it was at Villa Spada. Close by Dennis indicates a large cave (E), now closed by a gate, but which, according to him, has several ramifications (to the N.E. of which is a shaft such as Tomassetti describes, one side of which has been quarried away), and a tomb (G),[1] and on the W. side of the hill above the railway are several more tombs.

Just beyond the site of the 6th milestone a modern road goes off to a bridge over the Tiber, in the construction of which remains of a building of the second century after Christ were discovered; among the chambers were two well preserved bath rooms with hypocausts, and fragments of columns of porta santa (Iasian) marble 0·38m. in diameter were found (*Bull. Com.* 1891, 328). Lanciani conjectures that this building may have formed a part of the post station of Fidenae, relying on Eutropius (*supra*, 18). The road now passes between the hill of Castel Giubileo and the table-land on the E. The site of Castel Giubileo is a very fine one (Fig. 1), and it was natural that the acropolis of Fidenae should have been placed there by some topographers. It appears to have been occupied in Roman times, to judge from the existence of fragments of marble columns, etc., though no traces of actual buildings exist. The inscriptions that have been copied there (*C.I.L.* xiv. 4066, 4070, 4071) have very likely been brought from the tombs of the Via Salaria. The caves indicated by Dennis on the lower slopes of the hill have fallen in, but may still be traced. The mediaeval history of the place is given by Tomassetti (*op. cit.* 80 *sqq.*).

[1] It may be noticed in passing that the tombs he indicates above the Casale di Villa Spada are no longer visible—perhaps owing to the fall of the rock. Some damage has very likely occurred to the tombs—though not at all recently as far as one can tell—from quarrying. Lanciani (*Storia degli Scavi*, i. 205) mentions the letting of a quarry near Castel Giubileo in 1521.

II.—FROM CASTEL GIUBILEO TO OSTERIA NUOVA

(from the Sixth to the Thirty-first mile).

About half a mile beyond Castel Giubileo is the Fosso della Buffalotta, and on the N. of it the Casale di Sette Bagni, between which and the railway are various remains. On the E. edge of the railway behind a signalman's house are the concrete foundation walls (preserved to a considerable height) of a large villa, and further up remains in opus reticulatum, of which Gori (*op. cit.* 22) speaks as though they were tombs: while further towards the E. are two water reservoirs, to the easternmost of which, situated close to the casale, Tomassetti appears to allude (p. 86 n. 2), though the arch is of brickwork, not of opus quadratum. To the E. of the casale are large caves: and here Dennis (*op. cit.* 50) places the chief necropolis of Fidenae. Further to the N.E. on the top of the hill is a large reservoir, with at least three chambers, each measuring 10·9 by 2·5 mètres inside, and connected by openings placed slightly on the skew to one another, so as to reduce the pressure, as in the so-called Sette Sale at Rome (really a reservoir belonging to the Golden House of Nero). Gori (*op. cit.* 22) wishes to place Crustumerium here, following Cingolani and Ameti: the latter often reflects Fabretti's views, and it is therefore probably here that we must place the building of *opus incertum*, seen by Ciampini (*Vetera Monimenta*, i. 67) on an excursion in Fabretti's company. The hill is bounded on the N. by the Fosso di Malpasso, which is joined by the Fosso della Buffalotta just to the E. of the road which crosses them both by the Ponte di Malpasso. The bridge consisted until 1832 of remains of three periods—opus quadratum of tufa of the original structure, a brick arch with a double ring of brickwork, the stamps in which dated from 126–129 A.D. and were preserved by Nibby,[1] and an arch of comparatively modern date. A view is given (Nibby, *Analisi*, i. 129) by Guattani, *Mon. Sabini*, i. tav. 2 (opp. p. 43).

The identification of the stream with the Allia[2] (Nibby seems to refer rather to the Fosso della Buffalotta, the more important of the two) seems doubtful, inasmuch as the distance from Rome is insufficient (*infra*).

[1] *C.I.L.* xv. 506b, 507b, 702. From *Schede*, iv. 1[v] it appears that *ibid.* 506a was also found.

[2] *C.I.L.* xiv. 4064 (a fragment apparently of a sepulchral inscription) was copied 'in agro Crustumino ad Alliam' by Detlefsen.

Not very far from this point, according to Gell and Nibby,[1] the ancient Via Salaria left the valley of the Tiber, and ran towards Nomentum. The theory is, however, a very improbable one, and is conditioned by the desire to place Eretum at Grotta Marozza (*infra*, 71). The road which they indicate as the Via Salaria is in all probability a mere *deverticulum* (so Hülsen and Lindner, *Alliaschlacht*, 20 n. 3).

We may notice that the Tabula Peutingerana makes a branch go to the right from Fidenae to Nomentum and join the Via Nomentana there. This may be what Nibby considers the original Via Salaria (Desjardins, *Tab. Peut.* 176).

A mile or more further on the Casale Marcigliana rises on a hill above the road. No traces of antiquity are visible there at present, excepting a plain marble sarcophagus in the courtyard: but Nibby (*op. cit.* ii. 303) saw a sepulchral cippus with the inscription *C.I.L.* xiv. 4065, now in the Lateran, and several architectural fragments. The inscription, however, and perhaps the architectural fragments also, seems to have come from the excavations described *infra*, 48. Gori (*op. cit.* 26) speaks of two tombs cut in the rock, with plaster lining, on the right of the high road below Casale Marcigliana.

Beyond Casale Marcigliana no traces of antiquity are visible for some distance, excepting a well preserved reservoir at the Torretta or Marcigliana Vecchia,[2] the path leading to which from the E.S.E. very likely follows the line of an ancient road.

The Allia, from which the terrible defeat which the Romans suffered at the hands of the Gauls in 390 B.C. took its name, has been rightly identified by Hülsen and Lindner (*op. cit.*), following Westphal (*Röm. Kampagne*, 127),[2] Gell (*Topography of Rome and its Vicinity*, 43), and Kiepert, with the Fosso Bettina;[3] for both Livy (v. 37) and Plutarch (*Cam.* 18) place it at about 11 miles from Rome, and the former speaks of the

[1] *Op. cit.* 44; *op. cit.* iii. 634. The view is not due to them, but may be found in the older maps of the Campagna, and in Holste (*ad Cluv.* p. 709, l. 22). Desjardins (*Topographie du Latium*, 22) propounds the rather strange theory that this road was a somewhat late correction of the original road—which, running along the river valley, would be liable to be interfered with by floods—and that it did *not* join the Via Nomentana, but returned to the original road after Monte Rotondo.

[2] This is the site selected by Cluver (*Italia antiqua*, 658, l. 45) for Crustumerium—but wrongly (*infra*, 50, 51).

[3] Cf. also Hülsen in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.* i. 1585. This view seems, however, to appear first in Holste (*ad Cluv.* p. 709, l. 23).

stream as 'Crustuminis montibus praealto defluens alveo' (*infra*, 51). But the two full accounts of the battle which we have—that of Livy and that of Diodorus (v. 114)—differ with regard to the site of the battle, the former putting it on the left, the latter on the right bank of the Tiber. The question of the relative value of the two accounts has been much debated. Hülsen and Lindner (*op. cit.*) after a careful study of the ground, decide in favour of Diodorus, as Mommsen had already done (*Hermes*, xiii. 515 = *Röm. Forsch.* ii. 297), but their view has not been accepted by Pais (*Storia di Roma*, i. 281, n. 1) nor by Richter (*Beiträge zur röm. Topogr.* i. *Alliaschlacht und Serviusmauer*). The latter insists strongly on the fact of the impregnability of Rome from an attack delivered by an enemy on the right bank opposite the city, owing to the difficulty of crossing the river.[1] It is this fact, which, according to him, explains the importance of Fidenae in the early wars between Rome and Veii; even admitting, as he does, that the repeated defections and recaptures of Fidenae are by no means all to be accepted as historical events, he regards it as the key to the position in all this warfare, inasmuch as it was near it that the Veientines, descending the valley of the Cremera, would naturally cross the river. He explains the flight of that portion of the Roman army which escaped, to Veii (and not to Rome), by the fact that the Gauls had already cut off the passage to the city—which, even if the river did not run closer to the foot of the hills than it does now, is quite conceivable: while the absence of any effort on their part to relieve Rome may have been due to the difficulty already pointed out of crossing the river near the city and to the smallness of their numbers.

He does not, however, touch the chief point made by Hülsen and Lindner, that the ground on the left bank does not agree nearly so well with either description of the battle itself as that on the right. In this the military experience of the second of the two writers must count for much: and their explanation of the confusion made by Livy and other writers of the Augustan period is also important—that it may be due to the fact that

[1] There seems to be some inconsistency in saying (7 *fin.*) in connexion with this argument 'die Befestigungen des republikanischen Roms sind durch die zahlreichen Reste und durch Beschreibungen bis in die Einzelheiten gut bekannt; die so gut wie uneinnehmbare Befestigung war am festesten an der Tiberseite'; and in then (17 *ad fin.*) placing the present walls after the Gaulish invasion—though it is not denied that Rome had walls of some kind—not, however, 'so gut wie uneinnehmbare,' for 'jedenfalls hat die Gallierkatastrophe die Römer darüber aufgeklärt, dass ihre Stadtbefestigung . . . dem Ansturm eines grossen Heeres nicht Stand zu halten vermochte' (18 *fin.*).

the Lucaria were celebrated in a grove on the left bank of the Tiber, between it and the road, and were connected in popular belief with the flight of some of the fugitives thither (Fest. *epit.* p. 119 Müll. 'Lucaria festa in luco colebant Romani, qui permagnus inter viam Salariam et Tiberim fuit, pro eo quod victi a Gallis fugientes e proelio ibi se occultaverint') while, as a matter of fact, the festival is of far older origin and belongs to the oldest form of the Roman calendar (*C.I.L.* i.^{2} p. 298). Another important question is with regard to the route taken by the Gauls in coming from Clusium: to arrive on the left bank of the Tiber they must have crossed it at some point higher up, and of this we hear nothing. The question will, however, always remain an open one: it is clear that there is much to be said on both sides, and I cannot say that I am prepared to come to a decision.

Westphal notes some unimportant remains of ancient walls on the left of the road after Marcigliana Vecchia (*op. cit.* 127), while Gell considers the mound on this side, almost opposite to it, to be a tumulus (*op. cit.* map).

The statues of Bacchus and Ariadne (Visconti, *Mus. Pio-Clem.* i. 81, 82, tav. xliv, xlv) are said to have been found 'nel ristoramento della via che da Roma conduce a Monte Rotondo' and sent to the museum by order of Cardinal Rezzonico.

There are some remains of a villa in brick work between the Casale S. Colomba and the high road. *C.I.L.* xiv. 3940, a sepulchral inscription in elegiacs, was found here. I was also informed that ruins had been recently destroyed in the Vigna Valle Ricca, up the valley E. of Fontana di Papa.

A little to the S. of the railway station, a path ascends to Monte Rotondo, which very likely follows an ancient line.[1] At Monte Rotondo it may have forked, one branch going to Mentana, another to join the prolongation of the Via Nomentana, though there are no certain traces of antiquity on either. The town occupies a fine position on a hill, but there is no reason for supposing that the site is that of an ancient city—Eretum certainly was not situated here, as Raphael Volaterranus, Cluver (*Italia antiqua*, p. 667, l. 54, and, apparently, if silence gives consent, Holste) and other authors have supposed; for, as Dessau (*C.I.L.* xiv. p. 439) points out, it is by no means at the right distance from Rome. Nor can Gell's identification of the site with that of Crustumerium (*op. cit.* 190) be defended. Several sepulchral inscriptions have, not unnaturally, been collected in and

[1] Gori (*op. cit.* 31) thought it to be the Via Salaria, and saw near the first chapel what he believed to be a milestone of it!

near the town (*C.I.L.* xiv. 3932–3939[1]), though only nos. 3938–3939 seem to be still preserved, but none of them present features of any interest, and their provenance is in no case certain.

Stevenson notes (*Vat. Lat.* 10551, f. 5) 'iscrizione di Ereto

IRENETI D
VLCISSIMAE
IN DEO MAR
TVRIVSPATER'

from the MS. of Fontanini in the Library of S. Mark's, Venice. It is obviously Christian.

Guattani (*Mon. Sabini*, ii. 354) mentions some excavations at Casale di S. Matteo (or the Cappuccini Vecchi) made by a certain Federici, in which busts and fragments of statues smaller than life size were found, and an entire Eros; the objects were presented by the discoverer to some English people who were spending the summer there.

Gori (*op. cit.* 63) considers that the house just W. of the Cappuccini where are still preserved *C.I.L.* xiv. 3938, 3939, occupies the site of an ancient villa. He says also that the road leading to the Casino dei Maoli is ancient—the reference is to that running S. to the Fosso Ormeto (*infra*, 49).

The road running due N. from Monte Rotondo probably—in fact almost certainly—follows an ancient line, though no actual traces of paving are to be seen. A large bridge with twelve arches, belonging to an aqueduct, on the W. of it, half way to La Mola, does not seem to be ancient: there are, on the other hand, remains of a villa on the E. of it, just before it descends into the valley. At La Mola traces of antiquity are absent. It seems probable, however, that at this point it fell into a *deverticulum* from the Via Salaria. We have now to enquire at what point the latter left the valley of the Tiber.

The question is intimately connected with that as to the site of Eretum, which must be sought 14 miles from Fidenae (*Tab. Peut.*), *i.e.* 19 miles from Rome, or 18 miles from Rome (*Itin. Ant.*).

Strabo (v. 3. 1. p. 228) indicates it as a Sabine[2] village situated above the Tiber (τῆς Σαβίνης κώμην ὑπὲρ τοῦ Τιβέρεως κειμένην) at the point where

[1] 3937 was copied at the Osteria delle Capannuole 1½ mile off on the high road.
[2] See *C.I.L.* xiv. p. 439.

the Via Nomentana joins the Via Salaria and not far from the Aquae Labanae (*τὰ Λαβανὰ ὕδατα, οὐκ ἄπωθεν τούτων* [Ἀλβούλων] *ἐν τῇ Νωμεντανῇ καὶ τοῖς περὶ Ἡρητὸν τόποις*, *ibid.* 11, p. 238), cf. Verg. *Aen.* vii. 711 'Ereti manus omnis, oliviferaeque Mutuescae' (Serv. *in. loc.* 'Eretum oppidum dictum est *ἀπὸ τῆς Ἥρας*, id est, a Iunone, quae illic colitur': cf. Solin. ii. 10). Dionys. iii. 32. *γίνετο δ' αὐτῶν περὶ πόλιν Ἡρητὸν ἀπὸ σταδίων ἑπτὰ*[1] *καὶ ἑκατὸν τῆς Ῥώμης ἀγών* (13⅜ miles). *id.* xi. 3. *διέστηκε δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥώμης ἡ πόλις αὕτη στάδια τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν* (17½ miles[2]) *πλησίον οὖσα Τιβέρεως ποταμοῦ.*

There is much difference of opinion as to its site. The oldest topographers put it at Monte Rotondo (*supra*, 26), Mannert at Fiora (ix. pt. 1. p. 521), Gell (*op. cit.* 201), Nibby (*op. cit.* ii. 143) at Grotta Marozza (*infra*, 71), Gori at Casale Manzi, a little to the N.W. of Mentana (*infra*, 71), Reichard (*Orb. Ant.* tab. xi.) at Cretone. All these views are erroneous: but the truth was seen by Chaupy (*Maison de Campagne d'Horace*, iii. 88), Guattani (*op. cit.* i. 134), Westphal (*op. cit.* 128), Nibby (in his article *Delle Vie degli Antichi*—an appendix to *Nardini's Roma Antica*, vol. iv.—p. 88), Canina (*Carta della Campagna Romana*) and Kiepert. Desjardins (*Tab. Peut.* 162: cf. *Latium*, 20) is inclined to agree with Canina as to the site of the post station, but to put the original town at Monte Rotondo. There is no evidence for this, but it would be in agreement with what was the case at Labici and elsewhere.

The last group of writers all place it a little way—a mile or so—to the E. of the modern road, on the low hills above it, the exact site depending upon the view they take as to its distance from Rome. The line of the road is at present anything but clear at this point, for no traces exist on the spot. The remains, too, which are to be seen are somewhat insignificant: nothing is preserved above ground, and the indications on the map represent as a rule mere heaps of débris. (The mark to the N. of La Mola refers to a rectangular shaft 30 or 40 feet deep, of which there are several more in a line running E. and W. They are possibly shafts communicating with a pozzolana pit, but their date and purpose remain uncertain without a more thorough exploration than I was able to make.) Chaupy, on the other hand, who explored the ground in 1768, gives a far

[1] Cod. Urbinas 105 has *ἑξήκοντα*, which would make the distance 20 miles.

[2] Cf. Holste *ad Cluv.* p. 668, l. 25, who remarks that there is no contradiction between the passages, as the site of the battle may well be described as near the town when it was only 33 stades (4⅛ miles) away.

more definite account, which, if it be accepted in its entirety, leaves little doubt as to the site of Eretum. He places the point where the Via Salaria leaves the valley of the Tiber at about the 18th ancient mile from Rome (corresponding more or less with the 17th modern mile) just after the Ponte di Casa Cotta (which should be that just to the S. of the Cant^ra Casa Cotta of our map) where, he says, he saw traces of pavement, some of the stones being *in situ*, while others had been removed. From this point the ancient road diverged from the modern towards the right, 'vers une éminence qu'on trouve couverte de ruines, qu'on reconnoissoit jusqu'au carême dernier (1768) pour ceux d'une Cité, à un mur même flanqué de tours, qui renfermoit beaucoup d'autres ruines. Le lieu se trouve d'autant plus près de la rivière qu'elle forme justement là une coude qui l'en aproche' (*loc. cit.*). A little further on (p. 91) he tells us that the name of the place was Rimane, and adds 'L'enceinte n'étoit que de petite étendue, et autant par la manière de ses Tours que par sa fabrique, elle ne s'annonçoit que pour un ouvrage des tems moiens, au lieu que les ruines des Edifices du milieu remontent visiblement aux plus anciens. . . . J'ai dit que tel avoit été le lieu jusqu' au Carême dernier. Je l'avois revu en effet tel que je l'ai peint dans un voïage à ma Campagne fait pendant le Carnaval, mais lorsque j'y suis retourné aux Fêtes de Paques j'ai trouvé que tout le mur d'enceinte avoit disparu. Il avoit été barbarement détruit entre ces deux tems pour la réparation du chemin, ce qui a fait perdre aux ruines le caractère de ruines de Ville qu'il rendoit sensible.'

The nature of the older ruins within the enceinte would be doubtful, as he does not further describe them, did not Gell (*op. cit.* 204) speak of them as being of *opus reticulatum*, of which I cannot say that I saw any traces. But that we have here the site of Eretum (occupied apparently by a mediaeval castle) seems increasingly probable from the fact that Chaupy, in going towards it from Torre Fiora (*infra*, 74), not along the road, but across the fields, saw 'vis-à-vis l'Hôtellerie de Moricone' a considerable piece of ancient paving running towards the ruins he had discovered.[1] He was,

[1] Guattani (*Mon. Sabini*, i. 47) speaks of traces of it seen by Prosseda a little while before he wrote, but says that they had been destroyed: 'A voler riconoscere da questa parte il confluente delle due vie per mezzo di selci rimasti in opera e fuor d'opera, è duopo volgere a sinistra (dalla Nomentana) per la via che conduce a M. Libretti, e deviando a sinistra ancora giungere alla Collina di Rimane; ove per quei campi non è difficile rinvenirne. Lo Chaupy ve gli ha visti, ed anche ultimamente il nostro Signor Prosseda. Ma come i campagnoli Sabini hanno spianato affatto gli avanzi di Ereto cosi i selciaroli negozianti di vie hanno fatto man bassa sulle consolari antiche massime sulla Nomentana che era forse la più conservata.'

however, in some doubt (and this is particularly unfortunate) whether to attribute it to the prolongation of the Via Nomentana to Eretum, or to what he imagines to have been 'ce qu'on appela anciennement la vieille Salaire,[1] qui d'Eretum pût tourner vers l'endroit dont je parle et passer au lieu appelé la Madonna de la Spiga et sous Monte Libretti où l'on en voit les vestiges les plus sensibles devant la vigne du Prince, au lieu que la nouvelle suivoit la ligne droite tracée par les ruines des monumens qui en restent vers l'Eglise de S. Antime,[2] là tournoit un peu à droite par le bois de Monte Libretti, traversoit la Vallée qu'il borde, et ne rejoignoit l'ancienne qu'après plusieurs milles sur la colline à la descente de la Vallée de Nérola par le milieu de laquelle elle tournoit avec elle une colline que le chemin moderne coupe.'

Gell (*op. cit.* 203) remarks that 'it is exceedingly difficult to fix with precision upon the places mentioned by this writer, or to connect intelligibly his narrations.' His own theory, that Eretum was at Grotta Marozza, is, as we have already said, incorrect: but his whole conception of the facts is vitiated by his supposition that the Via Salaria Vetus ran past Mentana. He is wrong, too, in supposing that the road which at 'mile xxi falls into the Via Nomentana from the seventeenth mile of the lower Via Salaria' (*i.e.* that which runs N. of the Colle del Forno) must be that of which Chaupy speaks. I have already had occasion to make use of Chaupy's accounts of what he saw (*Papers*, i. 272) and they appear to me to be of considerable value. The doubt as to the existence of a road running from the prolongation of the Via Nomentana to Rimane is particularly unfortunate, as no traces of any such road are, as far as I know, to be found—and this is an important point in the determination of the site of Eretum (*supra*, 27). The discovery of pavement just N. of the Ponte di Casa Cotta is not positive evidence, it is true, that the Via Salaria left the river only there, for it is probable that the road along the Tiber valley follows an ancient line (so Westphal, *loc. cit.*): though the account of the course of the Via Salaria given in *Not. Scav.* 1892, 240 is somewhat curious: 'I solerti signori Cozza e Pasqui nel tracciare le antiche vie della Sabina, avevano scorto che la

[1] We shall see (*infra*, 74) that this is merely the continuation of the Via Nomentana. Canina falls into the same error.

[2] He says above (p. 76), 'on en voit les grands pavés dispersés dans la montée qui la précède immédiatement.'

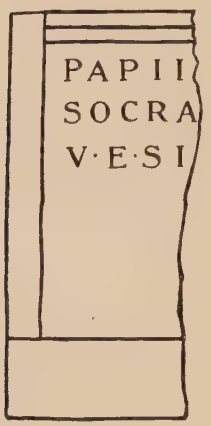
Salaria, venendo da Curi, passava, presso il Tevere, il fiume Farfa, e quindi risaliva rasentando a sinistra il sepolcro ora scoperto (near the mouth of the Farfa on its right bank, above the railway to Florence) del quale restava fuori un frammento della cornice. Hanno poi mostrato che proseguiva verso *Forum Novum*, ora Vescovio.' That an ancient road followed this course may be treated as almost certain : but it is equally certain that it was not the Via Salaria proper.

From it seems to have diverged a deverticulum about half a mile N. of Casa Cotta, to judge by a cutting through the hill to the W. of point 51,[1] though the prolongation of it is not clear either to the N. or the S., and it certainly cannot belong to the Via Salaria itself. The latter must have gone straight on as indicated in the map, though no traces of it now exist, so far as I know: a little before the 22nd mile, according to my reckoning, it reaches the church which Chaupy (*op. cit.* 75) rightly believed to be that of S. Anthimus, whose name the hill on which it stands still bears. He saw there columns of granite, of one of which Stevenson[2] observed a fragment, and, on the ascent immediately preceding it, traces of the pavement of the ancient road. Stevenson (*Bull. Crist.* 1896, 160) mentions the church, of which nothing but the apse of mediaeval work now remains standing, and his discovery of the cemetery in which the martyr was buried a little way to the E. of Monte Maggiore. The distance from Rome of the site of his tomb is variously given as the 22nd and the 28th mile (Kraus, *Realencyclopädie*, ii. 124).

Monte Maggiore itself may occupy an ancient site, but there are no traces of antiquity. There are various ancient fragments in the garden, including two circular *putealia* with reliefs. None of these are necessarily of local provenance, but may have been brought here from Rome by Prince Sciarra, to whom the villa until recently belonged. One of the doorsteps of the villa itself is partly formed by a block of marble (the half of a cippus, no doubt, the lower part being left rough for insertion in the ground) bearing the following fragmentary inscription :

[1] I should imagine that it was to this cutting that the following note of Stevenson's (*Vat. Lat.* 10551, f. 33) refers: '1896. D. Carlo Villari mi dice che dopo Monterotondo sulla via ferrata si vede come una strada antica che attraversa la tenuta di Montemaggiore.' I do not think the course of the Via Salaria itself can be so easily detected that it could be seen from the railway.

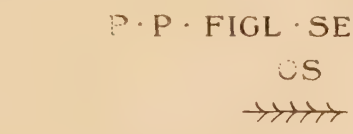
[2] For all this district much valuable information is contained in a volume of Stevenson's MS. notes, now in the Vatican (*Vat. Lat.* 10551, 55 *sqq.*).



The letters are 65 mm. high.

Just S. of Monte Maggiore runs the modern road to Monte Libretti (*infra*, 74). This appears to follow an ancient line: there is no pavement on the older track which cuts off some of the windings of the present road, but there are one or two pavingstones *in situ* in the bank on the S. side of the cutting a little way to the W. of the Casa Falconieri, about 2 mètres above the present level.

There are no traces of the Via Salaria, so far as I know, on the descent from Monte Maggiore to the Fosso Carolano, but immediately after this is crossed its line may be clearly seen ascending 35° N. of E. through a deep cutting (Fig. 2). On its S.E. edge are traces of buildings running parallel to it, mainly in brick: they have only recently been laid bare by the removal of the brushwood, the ground having been newly brought under cultivation, and have been much destroyed, so that little but débris is visible above ground. I saw a fragment of a pediment in white marble, from a tomb or small shrine, the top of a sepulchral cippus (none of the inscribed portion was preserved), a threshold block of sandstone 1·92 m. long by 0·68 wide, and a fragment of a brick pilaster covered with plaster painted red, measuring 42 by 36 cm. This may serve to show that this large group of buildings must have been of some importance—possibly they are the ruins of a halting-place on the road half-way between Eretum and Vicus Novus. There is nothing to indicate a date, except a fragmentary brickstamp, round or lunate (the whole curve is not preserved), bearing the inscription



which is, so far as I know, unpublished. Stevenson, in his notes already cited, describes his exploration in October, 1896, along this section of the road, beginning from the further end (near the Fabbrica Palmieri): and it is to his notes that I am indebted for my knowledge of its existence. The ruins of which I have just spoken he apparently did not see, as the brushwood had probably not yet been cleared: nor does he notice the cutting which I have mentioned. But he brings forward a most important piece of evidence that this road is the old Salaria, and that the modern road (which runs by Fara Sabina station, and there turns eastwards) follows a different course, namely, the inscription upon the bridge by which the modern road crosses the Fosso Corese, which runs thus: 'Ex auctoritate d. n. Pii. vi. P. M. Ordo et Populus Reatinorum, quod Salariam veterem quae est inter agrum Curensem et querceta Nerulana aquarum alluvies et negligentia superiorum temporum penitus interceperat nec iter commeantibus tutum praestabat, et viam novam stratam lapide inter utriusque fines aperuerunt et pontem a solo ex pecunia publica et conlatitia fecerunt (etc.: dated 1793).' Stevenson comments as follows 'The inscription speaks of an absolutely new road, which would join the old one precisely "ad querceta Nerulana," *i.e.* at the Colle delle Sterparelle (the hill to the N. of the Fosso Carolano, which the road crosses diagonally), upon which is the boundary between the territory of Nerola and that of Monte Libretti, and where a portion still remains of the ancient oak forest which once covered this district. We must suppose that the Salaria diverged from the modern road before the station of Fara Sabina, and perhaps ran along the side of the Fosso Carolano up to the point where I have discovered its remains: it is certain that there are no traces of the ancient road between the station and the Fabbrica Palmieri, while traces may be observed further on.' It will be plainly seen from this account that Stevenson was not clear as to the course of the Via Salaria nearer Rome: it is, however, noticeable that I was told on the spot that the old road had come up the valley of the Fosso Carolano, and not down from Monte Maggiore. No traces, however, exist in the valley, though one may fairly suppose that a *deverticulum* once traversed it.

A little way beyond, on the S.E. side of the line of the road, a large block of puddingstone is embedded in the ground: it is probably part of the foundations of a tomb: and a little further on again, just before the point where the old line would fall into the modern path, several pavingstones of limestone may be seen in the field walls. Near the point where a modern path diverges N.N.E. the large blocks of limestone of the *crepido* are to be seen running 35° E. of N. Near this point Stevenson seems to have observed the remains of several buildings on each side of the road, especially of water reservoirs. The corn was already fairly high in places at the time of my visit, but I saw the platform of a villa on the N.W. of the road.

Near the conjectural site of the 25th milestone the road reaches a new house, and here in a field wall are many more blocks from the *crepido* of the road: two seem to be *in situ* on the S.E. edge of the modern path, and give the width of the road as 4·50 mètres (just over fifteen feet) and its direction as 30° E. of N. Here is a large reservoir with four chambers, one of which I measured as 3·90 mètres in width, and S.E. of it are remains of substruction walls. The Via Salaria soon reaches the Osteria della Creta (the house at 218 mètres), just beyond which is the Fabbrica Palmieri. Here it is joined by the prolongation of the Via Nomentana, with which I shall deal when I come to speak of that road (*infra*, 76), and also by the modern road from Fara Sabina station, which probably does not follow an ancient line. We must, however, mention a few remains near to its course, and it may be well to include a few remarks on the site of Cures.

To the W. of the Osteria della Creta are the foundations of a villa, but no other ruins are visible until we reach the Grotta S. Andrea, which is the platform of a large villa with a cryptoporticus on its S. and W. sides: the platform is built in rough *opus quadratum* of conglomerate, and concrete.

The Grotta Volpe, some way to the S., is a water reservoir: and another reservoir will be found further W., just to the N. of the modern road, some distance to the S. of which, on the slopes above the Fosso Carolano, there is some brick débris.

Just before we reach the bridge over the Fosso Corese, a path diverges N.N.E. and then almost due N. This is the line given by Kiepert (*Carta dell' Italia Centrale*) as that of the road leading to Cures. The modern road to Fara Sabina on the W. bank of the Fosso Corese may also follow an ancient line.

The site of Cures and the excavations of 1874–5 are described by

Lanciani in *Commentationes Philologae in honorem Th. Mommseni* (1877), 411 *sqq.*: while their continuation in 1877 is mentioned in *Not. Scav.* 1877, 245. The site consists of a hill with two summits, round the base of which runs the Fosso Corese. Nibby's idea (*Analisi*, i. 537) that it included the whole triangle between the Fosso Corese and the Fosso Carolano, as far E. as point 181 on our map, is absurd. The western summit was occupied by the necropolis, the eastern by the citadel (here stands the church of S. Maria degli Arci), and the lower ground between the two by the city itself. Some traces of the walls of the citadel, and of the cutting which separated it from the rest of the town, were recognized: while in the necropolis a few graves of the imperial period, the bodies being buried under tiles, were discovered.

The excavations brought to light a part of the principal temple, the forum (in which were found the inscriptions *C.I.L.* ix. 4957, 4961, 4970, 4976, 4979, 4982: others previously discovered there are given *ibid.* 4962, 4963), the baths (*ibid.* 4953, 4971, and *C.I.L.* xv. 401, 849, 1036, 2393), and some remains of private houses.

Cures is, as is well known, connected with the earliest history of Rome, as the home of Titus Tatius, who, according to the legend, founded the Sabine settlement on the Quirinal, and of Numa. At the beginning of the imperial period it is spoken of as an unimportant place, but the inscriptions seem to indicate that it rose to greater prosperity in the 2nd century A.D., as did so many of the country towns of Italy.

The classical literature with regard to it is summarized by Mommsen in *C.I.L.* ix. p. 471, and by Hülsen in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.* iv. 1814, while Tomassetti (*op. cit.* 119 *sqq.*) deals fully with the mediaeval history of the place. In the territory of Cures, near the 25th mile from Rome, was the cemetery of SS. Tiburtius, Hyacinthus, and Alexander (*Bull. Crist.* 1880, 107).

Capmartin de Chaupy, after having identified the site by means of the inscription *C.I.L.* ix. 4962, was so pleased with the discovery that he established himself in the Casino d'Arci, and proposed to collect there whatever he could find of the antiquities of the town (*op. cit.* iii. 79).

About a mile and a half to the W. of Cures, outside the limits of our map, is the ruin known as the Grotte di Torri, which by some writers (*e.g.* Cluver, *Italia antiqua*, and Galletti, *Gabio antica città di Sabina scoperta ove è ora Torri ovvero le grotte di Torri*) was supposed to be an ancient city,

while others have found in it the site of a temple (Chaupy, *op. cit.* iii. 82). The ruins consist, however, as a fact, of an enormous rectangular platform, measuring about 96 by 93 mètres, having an outer wall faced with quasi-horizontal work, very neatly jointed, with the faces of the blocks smoothed. Inside this external wall a cryptoporticus, the walls of which are faced with opus incertum, can be traced on all sides except on the S.S.E.; and on the W.S.W. there are two passages, the outer 3·67 mètres in width, the inner 4 mètres, the first of which is lighted by slit windows, 0·67 by 0·13 mètre on the outside, where they pierce the external wall. In the centre of the platform is a large water reservoir, above which is a courtyard 13·60 by 7·38 mètres, surrounded by a gutter of slabs of travertine.

The total thickness of the outer wall, from the face of the external blocks to the face of the opus incertum of the cryptoporticus, is only 1·2 mètre, the external wall being only a single block thick, so that by no possibility could it have stood alone to a height of 4 or 5 mètres. The attempts that have been made to see in this building the ruins of a primitive city are therefore futile: it is nothing more than a very large villa of Roman date.[1] It has recently been described in a paper by Giovenale (well illustrated with photographs) in *Dissertazioni dell' Accad. Pontif. d'Archeologia*, Series ii, vol. vii, 351 *sqq.* Figs. 9–14.

On one of the blocks of the W.S.W. side at the W.N.W. angle are three phalli together (see Fig. 3), and on the N.N.W. side (low down) a lion. It may be worth noting that Gell (*op. cit.* 193) has again misunderstood Chaupy, who places these perfectly correctly at Grotte di Torri, and not at S. Pietro, a church which apparently stood at or near the point (181 on the map) where the road turns off to the village of Corese. Other descriptions of Grotte di Torri (such as Guattani, *Mon. Sabini*, ii. 336; *Ann. Inst.* 1829, 66; 1834, 106; Fonteanive, *Avanzi Ciclopici della Provincia Romana*, 52) are of no great importance.

After this digression, we may now return to the Via Salaria, which we left at the Osteria della Creta. Stevenson notes that at the precise point of divergence of the modern road to Moricone a marble sarcophagus was found, which still serves as a fountain at the Osteria, its cover, which was found with it, being lost. Just N. of this building, on the W. edge of the road, are the foundations of an ancient building, and on the hill a mile to the N., to the E. of the Casa S. Croce, is the platform of a villa

[1] Galletti mentions the discovery of a large dolium there in his time (1757).

(Vespignani, *Ann. Inst.* 1834, 107). At the 27th (ancient) mile from Rome we reach the Ponte Mercato: the present bridge is new, but there are remains of an older one, not necessarily of Roman date, in concrete, 3·35 mètres in width. This would correspond fairly well with that of the Ponte Buido, given by Marchese Persichetti, who, excluding the *crepidines*, estimates the width of the actual roadway at something under 3 mètres.

On the N. edge of the old road is a tomb—a round mass of concrete, within which is a square chamber with three rectangular niches, lined with brick and opus reticulatum. Beyond this a line of stones marks the course of the old road, which crosses the modern just before the site of the 28th milestone, and follows a valley in an N.E. direction. The older highroad ran almost due N. from the Osteria Nerola, forming the boundary between the provinces of Rome and Perugia for a little way, and, further on, that between the communes of Fara Sabina and Ponticelli. Whether this follows an ancient line or not—whether, indeed, the Via Salaria ever went that way—I do not know, as I have not yet explored it (*supra*, 8): but through the valley of which I have spoken the Via Salaria can be clearly traced. The roadway is about 6 mètres wide, and the *crepidines* 0·60 m. each. On the S.E. side of it, on a projecting hill, is a large platform, upon which are some unfluted columns of puddingstone 0·60 m. in diameter: the place bears the name of S. Margherita, but it is an ancient site, though a church may have been erected there in later times. Not far off (where I have marked a 'drain' on the map) is a roundheaded channel cut in the rock, which may have served to supply water, as there are still springs in the neighbourhood. A little further on, below the road, are the remains of a building in brick and concrete. Three hundred yards beyond this is the so-called Ponte del Diavolo, an embankment wall in opus quadratum of local conglomerate, with the N.W. side alone free, by which the road is supported in its ascent on the S.E. slopes of the valley, which it now abandons for the time. It is about 20 mètres in length, with a turn in the middle, according to the plan of Vespignani (*Ann. Inst. cit.* Tav. C), 7·40 mètres in height at the highest part, and 10 mètres in width.[1] There is a parapet on the N.W. side 60 cm. in width, while that on

[1] Vespignani makes it only 4 mètres, but I quote my own measurement. It will be seen, too, that the measurements of his plan do not agree with those of his elevation, the latter being, it would seem, correct. Apparently the scale of the former is about one half too small, which would make the total length about 40 mètres.

the S.E. side, which must have served as a footpath, is no less than 2·30 mètres wide. There are eight buttresses, and between the fifth and sixth from the S. end there is an aperture for drainage 1·87 mètre in height, and varying in width from 1·7 mètre at the top to 1·42 at the bottom, the two upper side stones converging slightly. The blocks are practically rectangular, the vertical joints not being always quite perpendicular, and are large, from 65 to 75 cm. in height. The lowest course projects slightly, and the buttresses project from 65 to 80 cm. Fig. 4 shows a view of the central portion of this bridge (a view of which is also given by Vespignani).

A mile and a half further is the Madonna della Quercia, and a short two miles on the site of the post station of ad Novas or Vicus Novus (*supra*, 8); and here we may fittingly abandon the study of the Via Salaria, which we have already followed for a considerable distance beyond what are, strictly speaking, the limits of the Roman Campagna.

VIA NOMENTANA.

I.—FROM THE PORTA COLLINA TO THE PONTE NOMENTANO (*from the First to the Third mile*).

The Via Nomentana[1] diverged to the right from the Via Salaria at the Porta Collina itself, and, running to the S.E. of the present Via Venti Settembre, soon reached the Porta Nomentana of the Aurelian wall, 75 mètres to the S.E. of the modern Porta Pia. It had two semicircular towers with square bases, the right hand of which, now removed, stood upon the tomb of Q. Haterius (*C.I.L.* vi. 1426; Homo, *op. cit.* 243). Immediately to the S.E. of it is a small postern (Lanciani, *Forma Urbis*, 3).

An interesting discovery made close to the N.E. angle of the Castra Praetoria is recorded in *Not. Scav.* 1888, 733. At a distance of 10·50 mètres from the wall of the camp a building orientated in correspondence with it was found, which from the brickstamps found in its walls (*C.I.L.* xv.

[1] It may be well to remark that Ovid, when he tells us (*Fasti*, iv. 905 *sqq.*) that, on his return from Nomentum to Rome, he met the procession going to the grove of Robigus, which was situated at the 5th mile of the Via Claudia, was not returning to the city itself, but to his gardens, which were on the right bank of the Tiber, near the bifurcation of the Via Flaminia and the Via Claudia (Mommsen in *C.I.L.* i². 316).

1578a) belonged to the time of Diocletian, and which lay at a level considerably (3·50 mètres) below that at which the foundations of the camp commence. This fact indicates that it was Aurelian who lowered the level of the ground outside the camp, when he incorporated it in the line of his city wall, and not Honorius, as might have been supposed (Homo, *op. cit.* 267).

About 60 mètres of the pavement of the road were found in the Villa Patrizi, on the right of the modern road outside the gate, in 1886 (*Bull. Com.* 1886, 156 ; *Not. Scav.* 1886, 160).

The road takes a curiously indirect course, winding considerably, though the ground is not difficult (Lanciani, *Forma Urbis*, 3, 4). Its course was flanked by many tombs,[1] though an extensive cemetery does not seem to have been connected with it. Some 250 mètres to the E. of the road, to the N. of the Castra Praetoria, the remains of a villa were discovered in Feb. 1869, which perhaps belonged to Trajan (*Forma Urbis, cit.* ; *C.I.L.* xv. 7263, 7304),[2] and a little to the N. of this is the catacomb of S. Nicomedes (Marucchi, *Catacombe Romane*, 341, *sqq.*). A little to the N. of these a road diverged from the Via Nomentana to the E.S.E. at right angles ;[3] its pavement was laid bare in 1888, and found to be 3 mètres in width, and to have been flanked by tombs of the late republican or early imperial period, to which belonged the fragmentary inscriptions *C.I.L.* vi. 32899, 36718, and a fine sepulchral relief of husband and wife. A large Mausoleum is indeed shown on the N.N.E. side of the road by Bufalini.

At one point the remains of a building which was probably a bath were found on the N.N.E. edge of the road : and the atrium of a villa had been discovered a little to the N. at the Vaccareccia some years before. These discoveries took place during the prolongation of the Viale dei Parioli (under the name of Viale della Regina) in 1888[4] and in making the drains fragments of fluted pilasters of giallo antico (Numidian marble) were

[1] For the various discoveries made in the Villa Patrizi see *Not. Scav.* and *Bull. Com. passim* (from 1885 onwards).

[2] The first of these pipes is attributed by Dressel to Augustus.

[3] About the same place another road ran southwards to the Praetorian Camp : it is described as having been found about 500 mètres from the gate, on the right of the modern road, and as running from N. to S. It lay 1·70 mètre below the modern level and was 2·50 mètres in width (*Not. Scav.* 1903, 93 ; *Bull. Com.* 1903, 290).

The tomb inscription, Kaibel, *I.G.I.* 1444, is given as having been found 'in vinea viae Nomentanae' : while 2069 was found on the same road in 1601. Both are recorded by Sirmond.

[4] Some remains of a Christian cemetery were also discovered (*Bull. Com.* 1888, 148, 174).

found and some brickstamps—among them *C.I.L.* xv. 283, 1279 (1st cent. A.D.). Further details will be found in *Not. Scav.* 1888, 734 : cf. *Bull. Com.* 1889, 89. The road, if prolonged, would soon fall into the Vicolo di S. Agnese (the Vicolo di Pietralata of the Pianta del Censo, 1839), itself an ancient road (shown in Bufalini's plan) which diverges from the Via Cupa (*infra*, 93) to the E. of the N.E. angle of the Praetorian Camp, and runs parallel to the Via Nomentana for a while, then sending off a branch (also ancient) nearly at right angles, which returns to the main road a little before S. Agnese is reached. Whether the prolongation of the former road beyond this branch, towards the valley of the Anio (or, indeed, its prolongation S.W. towards Rome), is ancient or not, is uncertain : but in the portions indicated the existence of pavingstones can even now be adduced as proof. In the vineyard at No. 4 of the Vicolo di Pietralata a tomb, covered 'alla cappucina' (*i.e.* by two rows of tiles inclined towards one another) with tiles bearing the stamps *C.I.L.* xv. 595a, 1075b, was found in 1901 at the considerable depth of 12 mètres below ground (*Not. Scav.* 1901, 423 ; *Bull. Com.* 1901, 285).

The pavement of the Via Nomentana was found in 1902, at 1·80 mètre below the present level, under the modern road, close to the angle of the Via Cagliari[1] (*Not. Scav.* 1902, 358 ; *Bull. Com.* 1902, 206) and it had already crossed to the left of the modern road by the time that the deverticulum of which we have spoken diverged from it : for in the construction of the Viale della Regina, in 1891, its pavement was discovered 63 mètres to the left (N.W.) and a sepulchral relief with four busts of members of the same family (the Aletii) was found not far off (*Not. Scav.* 1889, 70 ; *Bull. Com.* 1889, 216 ; *C.I.L.* vi. 34357). Two cippi were found on the same side in 1904, still *in situ*, at the angle of the Via Novara and the Via Alessandria. They limited the area belonging to a tomb (which was not discovered) the front line of which was according to the inscription (which is practically identical on both) 12 feet. The cippi are said, however, to have been found 3·90 mètres apart—a full 13 feet. The measurement *may* have been taken from centre to centre, in which case we must subtract 50 cm. (*i.e.* half the width of each cippus) and then we get 3·40 mètres, which is too little (*Not. Scav.* 1904, 195 ; *Bull. Com.* 1904, 200). On the same side still, either about 200 (*Not. Scav.* 1900, 192) or 300 (*Bull. Com.* 1900, 233) mètres beyond the Viale della Regina, a sepulchral cippus of the usual type

[1] A fragment of a Greek inscription (no doubt from a tomb) was found.

was found. On the right, a little further back, in laying the foundations of a new church of S. Joseph, a round shaft lined with *opus reticulatum*, 7·50 m. deep, leading to a passage cut in the rock, and fragments of statues were found (*Not. Scav.* 1904, 158 ; *Bull. Com.* 1904, 357).

The road now descends somewhat sharply. From the point we have reached, the exact course of the road as far as S. Agnese has until lately been somewhat uncertain, though it can never have been far from the modern road,[1] but the pavement was discovered in 1902 near the turning off of the Via Pasqualina at the bottom of the descent, in making the new sewer in connexion with the widening of the modern road, at 2 mètres below the present ground level. A sepulchral cippus was discovered at the same place, at a depth of 4·50 mètres (*Not. Scav.* 1902, 468 ; *Bull. Com.* 1902, 208).[2] Further details would, however, have been welcome, especially in view of the doubt as to the course of the road : we do not know how much of the pavement was discovered, nor whether the direction in which the road was running could be determined. If only a few stones were found, it is quite possible that they only belonged to a *deverticulum*. The widening of the road has led to the discovery of a considerable number of tombs (many of them columbaria) on the right in the Villa Torlonia and the Villa Mirafiori, and nearer to S. Agnese, and of two small Christian burying places in the former villa (*Not. Scav.*, *Bull. Com.* 1902, 1903, *passim ; Bull. Crist.* 1902, 258 ; 1903, 285).

At S. Agnese (if not before) the ancient road must coincide with the modern. The church and the catacomb are dealt with by Marucchi (*Basiliques et Églises*, 468 ; *Catacombe*, 347).[3] To the W.N.W. is the round

[1] Bartolini (*S. Agnese*, 118) is wrong in stating that the ancient road crossed the modern after the Villa Torlonia, passing N. of S. Agnese and through the valley by the Sedia del Diavolo (*infra*, 45).

[2] A comparison of these two accounts, which are both from the same pen, will show an extreme case of the difficulty to which I have alluded above (3, 4). In the former the site of the discovery is described as 'presso il muro di recinto dell' Istituto delle Suore della Provvidenza,' in the latter as 'dall' altro lato della via Nomentana (from the Villa Torlonia) presso l'imbocco della via Pasqualina.' To one unfamiliar with the nomenclature of the streets of the newest quarters of Rome, which is not always to be learnt from the ordinary maps, neither description is of very much use : and there is considerable danger that it might be supposed that two different places were referred to. But, further, the discovery of the pavement of the road is mentioned only in *Bull. Com.*, while for the measurements of the cippus and to learn the depth at which it was found, one must go to *Not. Scav.* It would seem to the unprejudiced observer that it would be a better method of proceeding to give a complete account of the discovery in one periodical : the course at present adopted is somewhat annoying (cf. *Class. Rev.* 1903, 329 ; 1904, 137).

[3] The sepulchral inscription, Kaibel, *I.G.I.* 1857, was found here in the 16th century. We may notice the discovery in the restoration of 1620 of the series of eight basreliefs, which are

mausoleum of Constantia, daughter of Constantine, with the circus-shaped cemetery attached to it (*Papers*, ii. 20). The porphyry sarcophagus removed from it is now in the Vatican (Helbig, *Führer*, i. no. 322). The mosaics which adorn the vaulting of the aisle are well known works of the 4th century (cf. Marucchi, *Catacombe*, 365). Those of the dome were destroyed in the 17th century, but drawings of them exist in the sketch-book of Francesco d'Olanda in the Escurial (cod. 28–I–20 f. 22, 27^{v}—reproduced by Egger, *Kritisches Verzeichnis der architektonischen Handzeichnungen der k.k. Hof-Bibliothek in Wien*, taf. ii.) in Vienna (Egger, *op. cit.* n. 104) Berlin (*Kunstgewerbemuseum*, A. 376,23) Windsor (*Vitt.* 18) Eton (iv. 96) and elsewhere. Cf. *Bull. Crist.* 1883, 93 *sqq.* for references to the MS. of Ugonio at Ferrara, in which these mosaics are described in detail. The common name 'Temple of Bacchus' was no doubt applied to it from the character of the mosaics of the circular aisle, which represent vintage scenes, and are largely pagan in character.[1] That the circus-shaped enclosure in front, supported by lofty substructures, the whole being in inferior opus mixtum, also served as a cemetery is proved by the discoveries of tombs recorded (1) by Flaminio Vacca (*mem.* 47 in Fea, *Misc.* i. 74).[2] 'A S. Agnese fuori di porta Pia, vi è accanto il tempio di Bacco con grande incolonnato di forma ovata.[3] Ivi sotto furono trovate molte grotte alte un uomo, larghe da cinque palmi, tutte foderate da ogni intorno con lastre di marmo. Io non so giudicare a che servissero anticamente: ma essendovisi trovate delle ossa, si crede fossero de' martiri, i quali in quel

now in the Palazzo Spada (Helbig, *Führer*, ii. nos. 989–996: two others in the Capitol, *ibid.* i. 469, 470, belong to the same set). The place whence they came is uncertain: at S. Agnese they were used as building material, while the other two were found, one in the Piazza SS. Apostoli, the other on the Aventine. A statue of Hercules (wrongly restored as killing the Hydra) also in the Capitol, was found here (*ibid.* i. no. 412) and so was the statue of the drunken old woman (*ibid.* i. no. 439, cf. Bartoli, *mem.* 100, in Fea, *Misc.* i. 250). The cippus bearing the funeral inscription of Q. Vedennius Moderatus, who rose to be *architectus armamentarii imperatoris* (*C.I.L.* vi. 2725) was also found close to S. Agnese in 1816. It has an interesting relief of a Roman catapult (*Röm. Mitt.* 1904, 255). For later discoveries see *Not. Scav.* 1885, 251; 1901, 423; and for Christian antiquities *ibid.* 1901, 14, 489; 1902, 366. See also Addenda, *infra*, 208.

[1] Excavations in the interior (*Not. Scav.* 1888, 507, 570, 732) led to the discovery of a baptismal font and several fragments of inscriptions: the building would seem, therefore, to have served as a baptistery at one time, though it is probable that this was not its original purpose.

[2] Vacca, *mem.* 124, records on his father's authority the discovery in the Vigna of Angeluccio da Viterbo near S. Agnese of the statue of a sow—in the mouth of which was a metal plate with the inscription *amplius si laboraveris*. Whether there is any truth in any part of the story I hardly know.

[3] Fea's note (la forma è rotonda) shows that he misunderstood the reference, which is not to the mausoleum itself, but to the space in front of it.

luogo stessero per paura de' tiranni' ; (2) by Piranesi (*Antichità Romane*, ii. 21, 22) ; (3) by Fea (*Varietà di Notizie*, 169), 'si prova cogli scavi fatti da me nel 1806 avanti il sepolcro, ora Chiesa di S. Costanza, che . . . il recinto avanti ad essa era un Cemeterio de' famigliari di lei, quale si rilevò dalle casse sepolcrali in marmo, e monete del tempo : primo Cemeterio Cristiano sopra terra ; non mai un Ippodromo, o Circo per corse di Cavalli, o carrette ; come si spaccia volgarmente nei libri antiquari, e architettonici.' Its original purpose is, however, uncertain.

In the garden attached to S. Agnese is the inscription *C.I.L.* vi. 1467 = 34085 Celeri Neronis Augusti l. a . . . o, which is by some (*e.g.* Lanciani, *Destruction of Ancient Rome*, 20) referred to Celer, one of the architects of the Golden House of Nero : but the point is somewhat doubtful (cf. E. Caetani-Lovatelli, *Attraverso il Mondo Antico*, 153).

In the 'vigna già Franz, poi Castelli e Maraini,' almost opposite the church, were found the lead pipes bearing the inscription *C.I.L.* xv. 7487 : and in a vineyard near the church is said to have been found in 1826 the head no. 55 of the Fitzwilliam Museum, which Michaelis (*Ancient Marbles*, 259) considers to be a forgery.

Remains of a villa in the Vigna Selvaggini near S. Agnese are referred to by Tomassetti (*op. cit.* 26).

On the right of the road, beyond the church, is the Vigna Rufini, now Solis-Ciogni, in which in 1822 a columbarium was found, which apparently was in use shortly after the death of Augustus (*C.I.L.* vi. 8012–8062). Other sepulchral inscriptions from the same vineyard are given *ibid.* 8063–8084, 12140.

In the Vigna Crostarosa, on the left, Stevenson copied on Jan. 18th, 1895, the following inscriptions which appear to be unpublished (*Vat. Lat.* 10565 f. 57ᵛ)

D|S · MANIBVS
C · LICINI · ISTHYMI
VIXIT·ANNIS·XXXXV·FECIT
LICINIA · DONATA
CONIVG I·SANCTISSIMO
PIENTI !!!!!!!!

'titoletto marmoreo, buone lettere'

'nella parete avanti all' ingresso del casino frammento di cornice,'

Here Michele Stefano de Rossi noticed remains of constructions in tufa, belonging to a fortified enclosure 'resembling those of the rear of the agger of Servius on the Quirinal,' while in the valley below (that of the Fosso di S. Agnese, between the Via Nomentana and the Via Salaria) he discovered fragments of archaic pottery: and in this valley Giovanni Battista de Rossi places the Palus Capreae (or Caprae), considering it to be dentical with the locality *ad Caprea* mentioned in connexion with the *Coemeterium Mœius* (*Bull. Com.* 1883, 244 *sqq.*; cf. Pais, *Storia di Roma*, i. 2. 740). The Palus Capreae is generally placed in the Campus Martius by topographers, and it seems difficult to accept De Rossi's view, which is contrary to the indications given by Livy (i. 16) 'cum ad exercitum recensendum contionem in campo ad Caprae paludem haberet' and what we learn of its site from other writers (see Hülsen in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.* iii. 1545).

The valley is crossed by the Aqua Virgo, and it may be to this that reference is made in the description of the tombs found near the Via Nomentana in 1604 'prope arcus Anienis veteris' (*C.I.L.* vi. 8085–8116, cf. p. 3454)—for the Anio Vetus certainly did not pass this way.

The Via Nomentana, from S. Agnese as far as the bridge, followed the line taken by the modern road. Tomassetti, it is true, (*op. cit.* 29, n. 2) states that certain tombs found in the Vigna Leopardi, about 500 yards from S. Agnese on the left, ran obliquely towards the river (the inscriptions are given in *Bull. Com.* 1886, 337 (nos. 1383–6)—with them was found the brickstamp *C.I.L.* xv. 754a, of the time of Marcus Aurelius (?)—but do not seem to have found their way into *C.I.L.* vi.), and he therefore concludes that the road bifurcated. Along the modern road, a little further on the left, opposite the Osteria Mangani, there are remains of a wall in *opus quadratum*, belonging either to a tomb or to the *crepido* of the road itself: and in the construction of the fort on the right, just above the railway, the foundations of a large tomb were destroyed, and also remains of earlier burials—fragments of bones mixed with 'monochrome Italo-Greek iridescent pottery'—in a stratum of vegetable soil, below which was a

virgin layer, of clay, gravel, and river sand, full of fossils. On the S.E. side foundations were found (*Not. Scav.* 1884, 347). On the left-hand side of the road, some 200 yards away from it in the valley, is the tomb known as the Sedia del Diavolo, a very fine specimen of work of the 2nd or 3rd century A.D. consisting of two chambers one above the other (with an ante-chamber at the lower level) the lower faced with opus mixtum of not very good style, the upper with fine brickwork of an ornamental type (Fig. 5). The lower chamber has three slit windows and several niches on each side, and has a ceiling with quadripartite vaulting, while the upper chamber was roofed with a dome, an interesting stage in the development of this class of architecture, though the pendentives are not as yet perfectly spherical (so Rivoira, *Origini dell' Architettura Lombarda*, i. 31 *sqq.* and Fig. 52, but cf. Giovannoni, *La Sala Termale della villa Liciniana e le Cupole Romane*—reprinted from *Annali della Soc. degli Ingegneri ed Architetti Italiani*, 1904—p. 34, n. 3).

This tomb has been used by Tomassetti (*loc. cit.*) as evidence that one branch, at least, of the Via Nomentana passed this way, which seems to me from an examination of the ground improbable, but it may have been approached by a deverticulum going towards the Via Salaria, though there are no actual traces of it. In the quarries to the N. are the foundations of a villa, with an extensive system of reservoirs for water storage, cut in the rock: the galleries measure as usual about 1·50 mètre high and 0·85 wide, and are lined with cement. It was probably here that the discovery was made, alluded to in *Not. Scav.* 1884, 348, of a wall with a painted dado and stucco decoration above: the latter in one part represented a portion of a skeleton.

The Via Nomentana now descends sharply to the valley of the Anio. On the left are modern brickworks, in which were found some tombs formed with tiles 'a capanna' (*Not. Scav.* 1886, 54). We soon reach the Ponte Nomentano. But little of the original bridge remains: it is generally believed, like the Ponte Salario, to have been rebuilt by Narses (*supra*, 16): but it has been considerably transformed, even since his day, and now has only one arch in use: it is crowned by a picturesque tower of uncertain date (Tomassetti, *op. cit.* 35). For the damage done to it in 1849, when it was cut by the French for a length of seven mètres, cf. *Rapport de la Commission Mixte*, 41.

Immediately after the bridge, a hill rises on the right of the road,

which is generally known as the Mons Sacer, and very likely rightly. Livy (ii. 32) tells us that it 'trans Anienem amnem est, tria ab urbe milia passuum' and Festus (p. 318 Müll.) agrees 'Sacer mons appellatur trans Anienem, paulo ultra tertium miliarium:' cf. also Dionys. vi. 45. It is an isolated hill, a stronger position than would be found on the Via Salaria at this distance from Rome: while further E. the Anio is more than 3 miles from the city. Close to the road, behind the osteria, in making a quarry, the foundations of a tomb, 5 mètres each way, were found, and behind it the remains of a villa: while upon the top of the hill is a water reservoir which probably supplied the latter (*Not. Scav. loc. cit.*). Further on, on the same side, are remains of another tomb in concrete, which is probably that of which the Doric cornice was drawn by various Renaissance architects, including Andreas Coner, while a plan is given by the unknown artist who added certain sketches to the album (*Papers*, ii. pl. 8A, 75; p. 14, 42). On the left is a large round tomb, with a circular chamber with rectangular niches inside: and further on are traces in concrete of another.

II.—THE VIA PATINARIA

(*Via delle Vigne Nuove and its Branches*).

Just after the group of tombs described, a road diverges to the N., which is now known as the Via delle Vigne Nuove. This, though it retains but little trace of antiquity, is certainly an ancient road—the cutting made for it to the W. of Casale Mangani may be noticed, and also its straightness of line. Just below the Casale in a quarry are foundations in concrete, belonging no doubt to some villa.

Shortly afterwards there branches off from it a road, now called Via della Buffalotta, which is also ancient, and with which we shall deal below.

A little way further on, to the E. of the road, is the Casale Chiari, which occupies the site of a large villa with the remains of a large reservoir in *opus reticulatum*, with tufa voussoirs in the arches. There are also remains of cisterns cut in the rock: but no brickwork is now standing (cf. Tomassetti, *op. cit.* 43). This has been identified—and no doubt correctly—with the villa of Phaon, to which Nero fled and in which he committed suicide. (Suetonius, *Nero*, 48, 'offerente Phaonte liberto

suburbanum suum inter Salariam et Nomentanam viam circa quartum miliarium'): and an interesting confirmation of the identification was the discovery made in 1891 of the cinerary urn of Claudia Egloge, in all probability the nurse of Nero, who provided for his burial (Suet. *ib.* 50, 'reliquias Egloge et Alexandria nutrices cum Acte concubina gentili Domitiorum monumento condiderunt.' See *C.I.L.* vi. 34916; *Bull. Com.* 1891, 227; *Not. Scav.* 1891, 337; Lanciani, *Pagan and Christian Rome*, 185 *sqq.* We also know the name of the road: the Catalogus Imperatorum notes 'Nero occisus Patinaria via.' The name, but without any topographical details, occurs also in the Notitia and Curiosum (Richter, *Topogr.* 382). The attempt of Lugari (*Monumenti antichi al iv miglio della Via Appia*, 40 *sqq.*) to transfer it to a *deverticulum* of the Via Appia is unfortunate.

A little more than a kilomètre further on the modern road becomes a mere track: on the E. of it, near the Segnale (point 62 on the map), are the foundations of a tomb (?), and further on is the Torre Redicicoli, which no doubt occupies an ancient site: there are various fragments of coloured marbles, and we observed a brick with a plain stamp 27 mm. in diameter (Tomassetti, *op. cit.* 89). Beyond this point the road cannot be traced: but it very likely ran on N.E. to join the Via della Buffalotta, to which we may now return. To the E. of this at the second kilomètre are traces of excavations, possibly of those described in *Bull. Inst.* 1831, 39, as being 'a mile from the high road, on a hill, near the first turning after the Ponte Nomentano,' in which were found some remains of dwelling houses, two statuettes, a lead pipe and some coins; they were closed as unsuccessful, after having employed 20 men for 2 weeks. To the N.E. again is the Casale della Cecchina (*infra*, 52). Just beyond there is a cutting traversed by the modern road which seems to be of ancient origin. Beyond this point there are no traces of antiquity for some distance. At point 49 a road diverges to the N.E., which leads to the Casale Torre S. Giovanni (*infra*, 50). The main road passes E. of the Casale Belladonna and the Casale Buffalotta. There are many pavingstones under the bridge which crosses the stream (Fosso Buffalotta, or, higher up, delle Spallette di S. Margherita), and the road continues on the further side of it, still in a straight line (due N.) until it passes, on the left, the Chiesuola Buffalotta—a tomb of ornamental brickwork, the front being of yellow bricks, the sides of red (compare the tomb beyond Casale dei Pazzi—

infra, 53). Soon after this it appears to divide into three branches, two of which turn N.W. to cross the Fosso Formicola, while the third keeps straight on. All the three must have fallen into the ancient road from Malpasso to Mentana (*supra*, 24). The first of the two branches which run N.W. leaves the remains of a villa on the S. and passes just S.W. of another brick tomb, which faces N.W.: the inner chamber measures 4·50 by 2·80 mètres: the ruins to the N.W. of it are mediaeval, though they no doubt occupy an ancient site. Brick débris is to be found all over the plateau. There is a circular chamber cut in the rock on the edge of the stream, into which run three water channels: the front of it has a plastered niche with traces of painting (rosettes, etc.), so that it may have been a fountain, the front of which was ornamented—a kind of nymphaeum, in fact. Close by are caves, which may be pre-Roman tombs (*Journal of Brit. and Amer. Arch. Soc.* ii. 206).

Important excavations were made by Castellani 'nella tenuta (della Marcigliana) lungo l'andamento della Salaria antica, presso la Buffalotta l'anno 1825 e 1826' (Nibby, *op. cit.* ii. 303). The site should probably be sought at or near these ruins, which are not far from the N. boundary of the Tenuta Buffalotta, according to Cingolani's map. Amati alludes to the site of the discoveries vaguely as 'at Fidenae'; but a comparison with the passage in Nibby makes it clear that we have to attribute to these excavations the finding of Kaibel, *I.G.I.* 1346 (the tombstone of Aelia Caecilia Philippa, which Nibby enumerates as a Latin inscription!), 1440 (the tombstone of Atticilla), and perhaps some more Greek inscriptions (Dessau, *C.I.L.* xiv. 4065, speaks of 'several,' though Nibby mentions no others, except that of Naevia Spendusa, which may have been either Greek or Latin), though the lack of a 'recensus locorum recentiorum' makes it impossible to ascertain the truth; also (in all probability) of *C.I.L.* xiv. 4056, a dedication to Hercules Victor, found 'dallo scavo fidenate riaperto; mi dice (Sig. Castellani) in quadrone di marmo, in mezzo ad una stanza che per avere i muri di stagno e tubi per l'acqua, giudica un bagno' (Amati, *Vat. Lat.* 9735, f. 58); it may be noticed that Nibby speaks of 'avanzi di bagno del tempo degli Antonini,' of the weight bearing the inscription *C.I.L.* xiv. 4124, 1 (dated A.D. 47), probably of the Latin sepulchral inscriptions *C.I.L.* xiv. 4065 (*supra*, 24) 4068, 4069 and certainly of the brickstamps *C.I.L.* xv. 931b (period of Hadrian) 2111 (corrupt) and the lead pipe inscribed MAECIL... (*Ibid.* 7711) which occur

on the same page of Amati's notes as *I.G.I.* 1346.[1] Nibby also mentions the discovery of fragments of basreliefs and decorations in terracotta, four bronze feet belonging to a bed in the form of lions' claws and decorated with figures of victory, which were found within a jar, and a large rhyton of marble, adorned with vine leaves and ivy in relief; and also of brickstamps bearing the date 123 A.D. One is inclined to wonder whether the 'grande scavo (fidenate) detto alla Belladonna,' in which brickstamps of this very date (*C.I.L.* xv. 487, c, 7 'ex praedis Iuli Eutacti Salarese') and the lead pipe *ibid.* 7473 which also bears Iulius Eutactus' name were found, is not in reality to be attributed to the same locality, though Belladonna is a little way S.E. of Buffalotta, and part of a different property.[2] The portion of Amati's notes from which these details are taken belongs to the year 1826 (Lanciani, *Silloge acquaria*, no. 433). In 1833 further excavations at the site mentioned above led to the discovery of a large black and white mosaic pavement representing Tritons and Nereids, and of fragments of statuary (Nibby, *loc. cit.*; *Diss. Accad. Pont. Arch.* v. 28; *Bull. Inst.* 1834, 2; *Diario di Roma*, 6 Aprile 1833, no. 28). Tomassetti (*op. cit.* 90) refers to a plan of these ruins made in the time of Alexander VII. now in the Archivio di Stato, which I have not yet consulted. About a kilomètre to the E. of them is apparently a tumulus, indicated by a round mark on the map.[3] The second branch road passes N.E. of the ruins, while, as has been said, the third keeps straight on, and then turns to the N.W. Here it joins the road already alluded to (*supra*, 24), of the further course of which towards Nomentum we may briefly speak now.

It takes a somewhat tortuous line, the country being broken up by deep ravines, and after a time follows the deep valley of a tributary of the Fosso Ormeto, and then, for a while, this stream itself. The cuttings made for it are the only evidence of its antiquity at present, though Nibby (*op. cit.* iii. 634) says that it preserved in his day many remains of its ancient pavement, and indicates it in his map as traceable as far as the Fosso Ormeto. Before reaching this point, it passes on the E. and W.

[1] Whether a copy of *C.I.L.* xv. 7626 was also found here is doubtful: Amati may have been mistaken in attributing it to Fidenae as well as to Ficulea (*infra*, 59).

[2] In *Eph. Epigr.* vii. 1271, the locality is vaguely given as Fidenae.

[3] Gell (*op. cit.* 45 and map) indicates two other tumuli, one some way to the E. of the Casale S. Colomba, near the source of the Fosso Bettina, the other to the S. of S. Colomba, and apparently a little way S. of the Fosso Bettina (though his map is not very clear). I have not examined either.

some unimportant remains of villas, which will be found indicated on the map. After it, as far as Mentana (*infra*, 70) the modern path certainly presents no traces of antiquity.

We must now return to the Via di Tor S. Giovanni. This presents no definite traces of antiquity, but is very probably ancient, to judge by the existence of a few pavingstones at the fountain W.N.W. of the Casale Tor S. Giovanni, and of a cutting to the N.W., by which it would ascend to the plateau. Close to the 6th kilomètre of the road are unimportant ruins in brickwork, and 500 yards S. of the casale, on the E. of the probable line of the ancient road, are two round shafts cut in the rock, which may have communicated with cisterns. The casale seems to occupy an ancient site: immediately to the E. of it are two long narrow water reservoirs at right angles to one another. About a kilomètre N.N.W. of the casale are the remains of another villa in the banks of a stream, to which the road probably led. Whether it went further, I do not know: but it may well have joined the others of which we have just spoken at point 75 on the map.

Some way to the E. was found a white marble sepulchral cippus, which is now at the casale; it bears the following inscription

D M
ANNIAE · TYCHE
urceus M · ANNIVS patera
IVVENALIS
CONIVGI · B · M · F

The letters are 4 cm. in height, and the cippus itself measures 51 cm. in width by 49 cm. in height. The date, from the form of the G, is probably the 2nd century A.D. (see *Papers*, i. 248).

In this district, we may say between Tor S. Giovanni and the Tiber, is to be sought the site of Crustumerium,[1] though no remains of it exist. It is frequently mentioned in the early history of Rome (Hülsen in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.* iv. 1727); and according to Pliny (*H.N.* iii. 53: 'Tiberis citra xvi milia passuum urbis Veientem agrum a Crustumino, dein Fidenatem Latinumque a Vaticano dirimens'), Dionysius (ii. 53, *ἀγομένης γὰρ εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀγορᾶς ἐν σκάφαις ποταμηγοῖς, ἣν Κρουστουμερῖνοι*

[1] There are various forms of the name.

πιεζομένοις ὑπὸ λιμοῦ Ῥωμαίοις ἀπέστειλαν, ὡσάμενοι κατὰ πλῆθος ἐπὶ τὰς σκάφας οἱ Φιδηναῖοι τὴν ἀγορὰν διήρπασαν κ.τ.λ.) and Livy (who speaks of the Allia as descending from the Crustumini montes, v. 37, cf. also iii. 42, 'ab Ereto (Romani) per silentium noctis profugi propius urbem inter Fidenas Crustumeriamque loco edito castra communierant') it must have lain hereabouts: and though the place itself had entirely disappeared (the city was finally conquered in 500 B.C., according to Liv. ii. 19, the tribus Crustumina being formed probably in 471 B.C.), and Pliny—this time correctly—names it among the lost cities of Latium (*H.N.* iii. 68), the name seems to have clung to the district, the fertility of which, and especially the pears which it produced, remained famous. Cf. Varro, *R.R.* i. 14, 'ad viam Salariam, in agro Crustumino, videre licet locis aliquot coniunctos aggeres cum fossis, ne flumen agris noceret.'

It was apparently on the edge of the Sabine territory; it is mentioned, with Caenina and Antemnae, among the Sabine cities in the story of the rape of the Sabine women, but among the Prisci Latini in Liv. i. 38, Dionys. iii. 49, and the latter tells us (ii. 36) that it was an Alban colony of far greater antiquity than Rome. Various erroneous opinions as to its site have already been dealt with (*supra*, 24 n. 2, 26). The view of Chaupy (*op. cit.* iii. 140) and Nibby (*op. cit.* i. 523) that it is to be sought at Tor S. Giovanni, or better, in the Macchia di Tor S. Giovanni, just N. of the casale—is very likely correct, as the site would be eminently suitable. Father P. P. Mackey (*Journal of the Brit. and Am. Arch. Soc. cit.*) inclines, but with some hesitation, to place the arx at the ruins S. of point 75 on the map (*supra*, 48) owing to the presence of what he believes to be early tombs. Either view would agree with Livy's description of the position of the Allia, which is an important element in the determination of the site, and it is impossible in the present state of our knowledge to be more exact.

III.—FROM THE PONTE NOMENTANO TO THE RUDERI DEL COAZZO (*from the Third to the Fifth mile*).

We now return to the Via Nomentana, which we left just beyond the bridge over the Anio. The cutting through the hill, by which the road descends to the stream before the fifth kilomètre, is probably of ancient origin.

Unimportant remains in opus reticulatum—of tombs, no doubt—are visible on the left, both before and after the bridge, and just before the fifth kilomètre stone there is a sepulchral cippus of tufa still *in situ* (*C.I.L.* vi. 14271, C. Calvisidius | c. f. Ser. | in fro. ped. xiix.—or xii. as we read it: Nibby, *Schede*, i. 46, has xiii.).

At this point an ancient road seems to diverge 30° S. of E.: paving-stones and a cutting through the tufa are evidences in favour of its antiquity: it can be traced to a point just S.W. of the Torre di Aguzzano, where it appears to stop. To the S.E. is a tomb, and further on the remains of a villa, but the road cannot be traced further. The track going E. from the Torre di Aguzzano to join the road described *infra*, 99, is of purely modern origin.

To the left a track goes off N. to the Casale della Cecchina, which may be of ancient origin, though Nibby (*Schede, cit.*) was unable to detect any traces; there are many paving-stones at the Casale, and fragments of columns and architectural members, as though there had been some ancient villa here: the site is a fine one, commanding a good view (Nibby, *Analisi*, i. 449).

There are traces of walling at the Casale dei Pazzi on both sides of the road: and in *Bull. Inst.* 1831, 39, we are told of excavations opposite the Casale, not far from the road, in which finely stuccoed walls were discovered, going to a considerable depth, and two terracotta urns: while work quite close to the road brought to light a building of blocks of travertine, with a semi-colossal statue of an emperor (apparently that now in the Museo Torlonia, no. 5 in Visconti's catalogue) and some sepulchral inscriptions. Among them was no doubt *C.I.L.* vi. 1435, an inscription (whether sepulchral or not is uncertain, as the end is wanting) in honour of A. Iunius Pastor, consul ordinarius in 163 A.D., found 'allo scavo dei sigg. Inglesi alla Cecchina Via Nomentana.' The road descends again through a cutting of ancient origin, which has recently been deepened (two ancient drains cut in the rock having been thus exposed), to a bridge over the Fosso della Cecchina, in which there were some traces of ancient paving, though the bridge itself is modern: an actual section of the ancient road, however, could be seen in the cutting beyond it. (Nibby, *Schede, cit.*)

Near the top of the hill a track goes off S.S.E. to the Casale di Aguzzano, which occupies an ancient site: there are foundations of opus quadratum under it, and the circular fowlhouse near it rests upon a round

brick building, while close by is a wall in opus reticulatum. There are also two travertine sarcophagi here. It is to the Tenuta di Aguzzano that the tufa quarry belongs in which were discovered the two inscriptions mentioned *infra*, 100.

A little further along, on the right, is the brick tomb known as the Torraccio della Cecchina, or di Spuntapiedi: it is similar in construction to the Sedia del Diavolo, and is built of red and yellow bricks, the former in front, the latter at the sides. The lower chamber (not now accessible) had four niches and was reached by a staircase on the outside, while the upper chamber had four niches also (*Analisi, loc. cit.*; further details are given in *Schede*, i. 47). Both retain traces of decoration in painted stucco. The construction of the dome is similar to that of the Sedia del Diavolo (Rivoira, *op. cit.* i. 31, Fig. 51). The façade towards the road has two slit windows, between which is a festoon in relief, cut in the brick.

The cutting made for the old road, or for the extraction of its materials can be seen on the S.E. edge of the modern road. Nibby (*Schede, cit.*) observes this fact, and notices another tomb of *opus quadratum* on the left, of which no traces are now left, and, about a quarter of a mile beyond the first, a well-preserved piece of pavement in the modern road. Here he saw clear traces, he says, of an ancient road crossing the Via Nomentana, both on the right and the left, which I have not been able to detect; and they are not indicated in his map.

The excavations described in *Bull. Inst.* 1831, 39, as a mile beyond Casale dei Pazzi, and beyond the tomb known as Spuntapiedi, on the right of the road, led to the discovery of some sepulchral chambers: two of them contained marble sarcophagi—the first, four small ones; the second, a very large one, with a Victory on a column, and two Roman soldiers at each angle. It may have been here that the lead pipe *C.I.L.* xv. 7600a (*Aurelius Agathangelus fecit*) was discovered: we are told that it was found 'at the sixth mile of the Via Nomentana in the tenuta della Cecchina in 1830'—an indication which agrees well enough with this site. A little further on, on the right, are the Ruderi del Coazzo, of which everything standing is mediaeval, though the site is probably ancient (Tomassetti, *op. cit.* 40, n. 1). To the W. of them an ancient road diverges to the right (now known as the Strada Vecchia di Palombara), which will require a section to itself: while another diverges S. to the Via Tiburtina past the Casale S. Basilio (*infra*, 99).

III.—THE 'STRADA VECCHIA DI PALOMBARA.'

At the point where this road leaves the Via Nomentana the cutting made for it is clearly traceable, and several paving-stones may be seen a little further on: while, after point 59 on the map, the cuttings, which run just to the N. of the modern track, are conspicuous, and there is pavement preserved in them. To the W. of the road are two water reservoirs and other ruins: while the Casale delle Vittorie itself rests upon an ancient building. In the tenuta, but probably on the E. side of the road which passes the Casale on the E. (which is quite modern) in the quarto Valle Valente, excavations were made in 1856 (cf. *Giorn. Arcad.* cxliv. (1856) 17), in the course of which were found remains of ancient buildings of a good period, including a fine doorway with a threshold of travertine, and a fluted column of tufa on each side; fragments of statues and bas-reliefs, including heads of animals which served as fountain jets; the sepulchral inscription *C.I.L.* vi. 15947, and the lead pipes *C.I.L.* xiv. 4016, 4017 (= xv. 7460, 7534a). The first bears the name of L. Funisulanus Vettonianus, the successor of Frontinus as *curator aquarum* in 106.

From the building to which it belonged, and of which he was the owner, may also have come the inscription *C.I.L.* vi. 29703, which records the gift by certain Funisulani, who were Augustales, to their fellow-citizens in some Italian town (not Rome itself) of a set of weights and measures (*pondera et mensurae*), and the decoration by them of an exedra. This inscription was found not far from the fine statue of Antinous described in *Bull. Com.* 1886, 209, and tav. vii., in the course of excavations for the Banca Nazionale in Rome,[1] but the inscription, as will be clear from its contents, obviously does not belong to Rome itself: nor did the Antinous stand in its original position, but upon a stratum of rubbish 6 feet deep, and it bore traces of having been under water for a considerable time. It had evidently been transported thither in the Middle Ages: and the suggestion that both it and the inscription come from this villa has much to recommend it (*Bull. Com.* 1886, 189 *sqq.*). The second of the two lead pipes bears the inscription *Q. Servili Pudentis Ti. Claudius Phoenix fec.* Q. Servilius Pudens, who appears as an owner of brickworks in 123—139 (*C.I.L.* xv. 346, 349, 350, 1429—1440), must have been almost the

[1] The statue is preserved in the courtyard of the bank itself.

immediate successor of L. Funisulanus Vettonianus in the ownership of the villa.

Tomassetti (*op. cit.* 46, n. 3) mentions other excavations made here under the Pontifical Government by Rocchi, the results of which are unknown.

To the S. of the road we are following is a villa, and, after another cutting through the hill, the ancient road is joined by the modern, near the 14th kilomètre of the latter.

On the right, on a hill across the stream, is the large Casale di Marco Simone or Castel Cesi (for to that family it belonged until 1678—Nibby, *Analisi*, ii. 307). It occupies, in all probability, an ancient site: immediately to the E. of it are vaulted substructures in concrete, the nature of which is uncertain: while at the Casale itself is a sarcophagus (described in *Bull. Inst.* 1833, 100) with a group of the Three Graces in the centre of the front under a large niche, and two other figures on each side in smaller niches.[1]

A mile to the N.E. is the Casale di Marco Simone Vecchio, where there are no traces of antiquity. Martelli (*Ubicazione di Ficana* (1828), 3—a dissertation preserved in a volume of *Miscellanea* (J 168) in the library of the German Institute) places Ficana (which he confuses with Ficulea) at this point: but his reputation is not a good one (*C.I.L.* ix. p. 388). He calls the Strada Vecchia di Palombara 'Via Ficulensis,' and apparently saw the traces of its course of which we have spoken. He mentions, besides 'baths, temples, sarcophagi, naumachiae (he refers to the Laghetto—*infra*, 104), aqueducts, roads, and inscriptions,' that he copied some brickstamps and inscriptions on lead pipes in the house of Signor Caretti, tenant of Marco Simone: and in the macchia he saw four Doric columns with their capitals, and in the stream the pavement of an ancient road. He also notices the existence of sarcophagi in the garden of Castel Cesi, and the discovery of coins, fragments of statues and a gold bracelet. He concludes by saying that 'the two subterranean temples which can be reached by a narrow, half-concealed passage under Marco Simone Vecchio' are of considerable importance: these are, however, in all probability, merely caves in the tufa. Canina states (*Bull. Inst.* 1831, 29) that excavations were undertaken in the Tenuta of Marco Simone (which

[1] The remains further to the S.E. will be described *infra*, 104 *sqq.*, in connexion with the Strada Vecchia di Montecelio—and so also the inscriptions *C.I.L.* xiv. 3993–5. Other sepulchral inscriptions found in the tenuta are given *ibid.* 3996–9, and two lead pipes, 4000, 4000a (=xv. 7621, 7709).

belonged to the Borghese) not far from Mentana, resulting in the discovery of baths with black and white mosaic pavements, of little importance, and of other objects of no particular value.

Ficulea, as we shall see, was situated elsewhere: but Corniculum should perhaps be sought hereabouts, on the authority of Dionysius, i. 16, who says that the Aborigines founded Ἀντεμνάτας καὶ Τελληνεῖς (see *infra*, 62, n. 2) καὶ Φικολνέους τοὺς πρὸς τοῖς καλουμένοις Κορνίκλοις ὄρεσι καὶ Τιβουρτίνους, from which it would appear that it must lie between Ficulea and Tibur. (So Bormann, *Altlat. Chorogr.* 255, who puts it where Nibby puts Caenina (*infra*, 65), though in his map he marks it on the left of the Via Nomentana—it is, however, to be remembered that Bormann, though a good topographer, was writing without ever having seen the Campagna (preface, iv, v)—and Hülsen in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.* iv. 1604). The other passages in which it is mentioned do not give us any information as to its site; it was, so the legend tells us, conquered by Tarquinius Priscus: but in later days it is only mentioned casually by Florus, i. 11, 6 (Cora—quis credat?—et Algidum terrori fuerunt: Satricum atque Corniculum provinciae), and in Pliny's catalogue of the lost cities of Latium. Nibby (*Analisi*, ii. 366) and Abeken (*Mittelitalien*, 78) put it at Montecelio (*infra*, 181), Gell (*op. cit.* 54) at S. Angelo (*infra*, 186), both views being inspired by Kircher's opinion (*Vet. Lat.* 222) as to the Montes Corniculani, though he himself puts it 'not far from Eretum (Monte Rotondo), where is now the church called Marchitella, at the Torre Vergata, near the Fosso Magliano, two miles from the Montes Corniculani.' One would imagine that he was thinking of a site to the E. of the Osteria delle Molette. Torre Vergata is a common name in the Campagna Romana (Nibby, *Analisi*, iii. 250), and the church I cannot place.

Further to the N.E., on the Monte Prato Rotondo, in the Tenuta dell'Inviolatella, are the remains of two more villas: and to the N. again is a water channel cut in the rock, of Roman date. The remains to the N.W. of the Fosso del Capo (less correctly Cupo, on the large scale map), in the Tenuta del Pilo Rotto, are described *infra*, 106.

On the W. of the road, which presents no actual traces of antiquity, except that paving-stones are used as kerb-stones (Westphal, *op. cit.* 125, says that he saw frequent remains of ancient paving), are the remains of three villas, while to the E., almost opposite the Osteria delle Molette, is a water reservoir.

From the Osteria a path diverges to the N.W., joining the Via Nomentana near Mentana, which, in all probability, follows the line of an ancient road from Nomentum to Tibur, indicated on the Tabula Peutingerana (*infra*, 68); continuing past point 105 on the map, in an easterly direction, more or less along the line of the path, it would fall into the path marked Via di Montecelio on Map ii.,[1] and arrive at Tibur in very little more than the nine miles given by the Tabula. Dessau (*C.I.L.* xiv. p. 440, n. 1) wrongly gives the distance as eight miles, and remarks that it is much less than the truth.

The section between Osteria delle Molette and the road from Lago dei Tartari to Montecelio presents no traces of antiquity; and this is the cause of my having omitted to continue the dotted line along its course. Perhaps, too, the ancient road did not run quite straight, but ran first to the S., towards point 65, and then followed the N. bank of the Fosso del Capo (*infra*, 107). If so, it would join the line of the Via di Montecelio just N. of point 102 on the W. edge of Map ii.

A little after the Osteria delle Molette, on the E. of the road, is the Casale Pichini, which is built upon an ancient reservoir, and near it are traces of other buildings, and two mediaeval towers. Further on, to the W., is the Casale di Greppe, with mediaeval ruins near it. I was told at Mentana that here, in 1898, granaries had been discovered underground with the corn, still preserved, in powder. A similar find is recorded in Cassio's *Memorie di S. Silvia*, 183. To the S.E. of Osteria Nuova, too, there are unimportant ruins. A little beyond this point another road diverges W. to Mentana, which probably follows an ancient line (*infra*, 70). Martelli (*loc. cit.*) and Westphal (*loc. cit.*) notice traces of the ancient road above the Osteria Nuova; they are no longer visible.

To the E. of the road we are following, just at the point where a modern road ascends to S. Angelo, is a building bearing the name of Molino del Moro, which rests upon a water reservoir of opus reticulatum. A little to the N.E. are the ruins known as Le Pezze (*infra*, 187), and to the N.E. again the large circular reservoir described *ibid.* The former have inadvertently been omitted from both my maps.

On a hill to the W. of the road, to the E. of the Valle Oscura, are the remains of extensive buildings, recently rendered more visible by the removal of the macchia and the spread of cultivation. Their existence is

[1] I refer to the path coming N.W. from Tivoli.

noticed by Guattani (*Mon. Sabini*, ii. 353), who calls them the *grotte belle* (remarking that further on in the forest he found traces of ancient roads —which I did not see—and of water channels); and Gori (*op. cit.* 67) mentions them. There are two water reservoirs, both above ground, one measuring 10·18 by 5·94 mètres, the other 7·75 mètres square; Guattani gives plans of both. There are also traces of substructures and large quantities of brick and other débris. To the N.W. is another reservoir. E. of the road at point 144 are the remains of the platform of a villa, and to the E., on the hill, a circular reservoir; while further N., on the Colle Giachetti, are the remains of a large reservoir with two chambers, and many fragments of brick from the villa which it supplied—among them one bearing a fragment of a rectangular stamp [ ] LIO which I have not as yet identified.

Our road soon turns at right angles, and runs eastwards to Palombara; the track going off W. past Castel Chiodato[1] to Monte Rotondo may very likely follow an ancient line (*infra*, 71), and the same[2] is true of that running N. to Monte Venere (*infra*, 83) and of that which runs S. from the Ponte Levatore (*infra*, 180).

To the E. of this last point there is a large villa above the modern road on the N.; and some way to the N. of it are the remains of another (among the ruins of which were the torsi of two small male statues), and, further on again, of a church (*infra*, 72). The road presents no definite traces of antiquity; the cuttings in the last portion of its course are deep, but have certainly been enlarged, if they are of ancient origin. With Palombara itself we shall deal further on (*infra*, 76 *sqq.*).

IV.—FROM THE RUDERI DEL COAZZO TO MENTANA

(*from the Fifth to the Fourteenth mile*).

After this long digression, we return to the Via Nomentana, which we left just beyond the Ruderi del Coazzo, and not far from the eighth kilomètre. Before the latter is reached, the modern road crosses over,

[1] At Castel Chiodato the inscription *C.I.L.* xiv. 3930/1 was seen upon the holy-water basin (no doubt, as so often, a Roman cinerary urn converted to this use): but it is no longer in existence.

[2] Westphal (*op. cit.* 125) notes that after the so-called Molino del Moro traces of antiquity are wanting in any of these roads.

leaving the ancient road on the left. There are various remains on the left of the road, of no great importance—of villas or tombs: those at the point marked Ficulea on the Staff Map belong to the former.

The Casale Coazzo apparently occupies an ancient site; there is a wall indeed in the floor of the yard,[1] and fragments of columns, etc., are to be seen—also many paving-stones, which probably do not come from the Via Nomentana, the pavement of which, four mètres wide, is intact for some distance. Indeed, in *Bull. Inst.* 1854, 17, the existence of an ancient road is mentioned, and excavations in the tenuta in the Quarto del Casale (the exact spot is uncertain) are described; the sepulchral inscriptions *C.I.L.* vi. 2164, 2165, in honour of two brothers, Manius Valerius Saturninus and Manius Valerius Bassus, both haruspices and both tribunes of the 3rd legion (Cyrenaica), and four fine mosaic pavements were found in the course of them; also the brickstamp *C.I.L.* xv. 1008 (after 108 A.D.). To the N. of the Casale is the site of another villa.

To the N. again, on the further side of a deep valley, is the Casale della Cesarina. It does not itself of necessity occupy an ancient site; but about half a mile to the N.E. excavations were made by Vescovali in the winter of 1824, and in the ruins of a villa which seemed to have been utterly destroyed there were found a lion and several heads in marble, one representing Lucilla, the wife of Lucius Verus, the sepulchral inscriptions *C.I.L.* xiv. 4011,[2] 4033, and a fragment, preserved only in *Schede cit.*

In *Schede*, iii. 36, the last line is given as LONGV. Here was also found the brickstamp *C.I.L.* xv. 509 (133 A.D.) and a lead pipe with the inscription *C.I.L.* xiv. 4018 = xv. 7626.

The important inscription *C.I.L.* xiv. 4012 seems to have been found

[1] Here was probably found the inscription *C.I.L.* xiv. 4005, the provenance of which is quite uncertain, as it was used in a 'selciato' or road pavement.

[2] So Nibby in *Analisi*, ii. 50, and *Schede*, iii. 36; in *Schede*, i. 177, he states that it was used as a step at the Casale.

about half a mile further N.E., and, apparently, from what Nibby says, not *in situ*, but in the ruins of another villa which I have not visited.[1] *Ibid.* 4019 (the epistyle of a tomb) was discovered under similar circumstances in use as a threshold. The fact is unfortunate, as *C.I.L.* xiv. 4012 runs thus: 'M. Consius, M. l. Cerinthus, accensus velatus, immunis cum sim, ex voluntate mea et impensa mea clivom stravi, lapide ab imo susum longum pedes cccxl, latum cum marginibus pedes viiii (fit quod stravi milia pedum [square feet] mmmlx): iterum eundem clivom ab imo levavi et clivom medium fregi et depressi impensa mea, regione Ficulensi pago Ulmano et Transulmano Peleciano usque ad Martis et ultra.' The topographical importance of the inscription would have been great if it had been discovered *in situ*. It is true that Amati (*Giorn. Arcad.* xxxli. (1826) 98) says that it was found 'in piedi sulla via di cui tratta, visibile ancora in gran parte,' though Fea (*Bull. Inst.* 1831, 126) merely says 'esaminate diligentemente le varie collinette intorno, colle valli intermedie, osservai

[1] It may be worth while to give the original text of the two accounts, which differ slightly in details. That in *Schede*, iii. 36 runs thus: 'Nel Novembre dell' anno 1824 furono intrapresi scavi nel tenimento della Cesarina poco oltre il casale in una fimbria di colle parallela a quella nella quale sorge il casale. Essi furono continuati nei mesi seguenti anche di la di quella punta, e dappertutto vi furono trovati indizi ed avanzi di villette che insieme doveano formare uno o più paghi siccome dalla iscrizione che più sotto riporto (*C.I.L.* xiv. 4012) può dedursi. Il fiumicello che scorre sotto la Cesarina forse fu detto Ulmano. Deviando dalla via Nomentana poco oltre il Torraccio della Cecchina al V. m(iglio) a sinistra si scende all' Ulmano e passatolo sopra ponte si sale al casale della Cesarina che è circa 1 m. dopo il diverticolo. Ivi trovasi impiegato come gradino un masso quadrilungo di travertino colla iscrizione seguente (*C.I.L.* xiv. 4011). Oggi questo masso è in Roma. (Il casale fu degli Sforza e n'è prova l'arme rapp(resentante) un' orso legato ad una colonna.)

'Nello scavo sulla fimbria opposta a questo casale furono trovati pavimenti di camere da bagno, e queste iscrizioni sepolcrali' (*C.I.L.* xiv. 4033 and the fragment given above) '. . . leggesi in una figlina ivi rinvenuta' *C.I.L.* xv. 509. 2. (A.D. 133)—508a, which I found there belongs to the same year, and has practically the same legend, 'Hibero et Sisenna cos. ex. pr. Ulp(i) Ulpian(i) Sal(arese).' 'Ivi pure fu trovato un condotto colla epigrafe *C.I.L.* xiv. 4018 sovente ripetuta. A poca distanza da questo scavo, forse un mezzo miglio più oltre, fra i ruderi di camere ben decorate di marmi fini, porfido, serpentino etc. frammenti di colonne si trovò la lapide seguente (*C.I.L.* xiv. 4012) . . . che sembra essere stata inserita in un muro.' The account in *Analisi*, ii. 50 is similar. On the copy is the note 'trovata alla Cesarina più di ½ miglio a nord del casale.'

The account in *Schede*, i. 117 says 'Il casale è di costruzione per quanto apparisce intieramente moderna: vi si trovano però d' intorno sparsi massi di travertino: un tempo fu de' Colonna come si vede da un arma rovesciata non antichissima che ha una colonna sormontata da un aquila a cui è incatenato un orso: per uno scalino è impiegato un gran travertino (*C.I.L.* xiv. 4011).

'Un buon quarto di miglio a sett. del casale sono stati fatti nell' inverno dell' anno 1824 scavi, e si sono trovate camere appartenente ad una villa sontuosa del primo periodo del secondo secolo, con pavim. di marmo ma che sembrava aver sofferto l'ultima distruzione: ivi si sono scoperte (un leone *add.*) parecchie teste una delle quali di Lucilla moglie di Lucio vero, molti frammenti di giallo, rosso, alabastro, africano, verde e serpentino, e due iscrizioni' (given above).

parte di quella selciata ancora in buon essere; e in due colline, delle rovine di fabbrica di ordinaria costruzione (one would suppose, the two points of which Nibby speaks). Nel basso vi è ancora un ruscello d'acqua buona, ove trovai avanzi di fabbrica nobile, forse per bagno e pavimenti ad uso romano con lastre di porfido rosso e marmi colorati.' (This last site must be on the W. bank of the Fosso della Cesarina, at a point where there is a channel cut in the rock, drawing a supply of water from the hill, close to which are concrete foundations.) Guattani (*Mon. Sabini*, i. 229) and Ratti (*Diss. Accad. Pont.* iv. 257 *sqq.*) also mention these excavations, recording the discovery of busts of Antoninus Pius and Iulia Maesa (the latter with triple drop earrings and a moveable wig) and a head of Cicero. Guattani also speaks of remains of the road 'scendendo dalla collina ove giacque Ficulea (*i.e.* that occupied by the casale), attraversata la valle al Nord Est non solo ad onta dell' erba si riconosce qua e la l'incasso del clivo, ma ne resta allo scoperto qualche straccio ancora a poligoni di lava basaltina non diverso dalla via Nomentana, e nella dimensione dall' iscrizione indicata.' (The reference may be to the cutting mentioned *infra*, 63.) He then gives a view of a wall with remains of vaulting 'a cassettoni,' *i.e.* with rectangular *lacunaria*, which appears from his account to be further from the Via Nomentana than the casale. It may have been a part of the ruins of the nearer villa excavated in 1824: but in that case it has now disappeared.

Coppi (*Diss. Acc. Pont.* v. 232) mentions the discovery of an inscription dedicated to M. Aurelius Fronto, freedman of the emperor M. Aurelius and of a brickstamp bearing the name of Faustina (citing Fea).

The sepulchral inscriptions *C. I. L.* xiv. 4007, 4008 (on the back of 4023) were also found by Vescovali in the tenuta of La Cesarina.

Whether *ibid.* 4027, 4029, 4050, 4052, 4053 (noted as 'Ficulensi' by Amati) came from La Cesarina or from Olevano is doubtful. Cf. Kaibel, *I.G.I.* 1794, 2195.

As it is, the exact site of Ficulea remains somewhat uncertain. As Dessau points out, even if the inscription had been found near its original position, it might have stood outside the town: and, further, fragments of inscriptions recording other works executed by the same personage have been found both in the church of S. Alessandro (*infra*, 63) and at Capobianco (*C.I.L. cit.* 4013, 4014). But we know generally that it cannot have been very far from La Cesarina. It is certain that it lay on the road

from Rome to Nomentum, between the two places, inasmuch as this road, according to Liv. iii. 52, was originally known as Via Ficulensis: and it was not far from Fidenae, for Varro (*L.L.* vi. 18) speaks of 'qui tum—after the departure of the Gauls—sub urbe populi, ut Ficuleates ac Fidenates et finitimi alii'; and Dionysius (v. 40) places the territory allotted to the Claudian tribe between Fidenae and Ficulea[1] (Bormann's emendation, Φικολνέας for Πικετίας, should be accepted). Nor was it far from the Montes Corniculani (*supra*, 56), for the same author (i. 16) classes it with the cities built by the Aborigines, Ἀντεμνάτας καὶ Τελληνεῖς[2] καὶ Φικολνέους τοὺς πρὸς τοῖς καλουμένοις Κορνίκλοις ὄρεσι καὶ Τιβουρτίνους. Dessau (*C.I.L.* xiv. p. 447) points out that Atticus' estate, which Cicero speaks of as Ficolense (*Ad Att.* xii. 34), must be the same as that mentioned as Nomentanum by Cornelius Nepos (*Att.* c. 14); and that Martial's estate at Nomentum must also have been near the edge of the territory of Ficulea, since in *Epigr.* vi. 27 he calls his friend Nepos *bis vicinum*, because he lived near him in Rome, and outside it dwelt at 'Veteres Ficeliae,' in the same neighbourhood as himself. The epithet *vetus*, which occurs also in Liv. i. 38, may only refer to the fact that the origin of the place was lost in remote antiquity. To suppose the existence of Ficulea vetus near Monte Gentile or Torre Lupara, the site having later on been moved to the neighbourhood of La Cesarina, as Nissen does (*op. cit.* ii. 608), is unsafe. Ficulea does not appear among the lost cities of Latium in Pliny's list: he mentions it twice, in the first and the fourth region, though, in contradistinction to the rest of Latium, it really belonged to the latter (*Plin. H. N.* iii. 64, 107: cf. *Liber Colon.* 256 L). The same occurs in regard to Nomentum and Fidenae (see *C.I.L.* xiv. *in loc.*). In imperial times it seems to have had a municipal constitution, for we hear of a man who was an aedile and praefectus iure dicundo et sacris faciundis (*C.I.L.* xiv. 4002: cf. *Eph. Epigr.* vii. 1266) who restored a temple of Fortune and Victory, of decuriones and Seviri Augustales (*ibid.* 4014) and of puelli et puellae alimentari Ficolensium, who dedicated an inscription to Marcus Aurelius in 162 A.D. (*ibid.* 4003). But again the place where these were found is uncertain: Amati, who alone copied the

[1] Liv. ii. 16 tells us that it was across the Anio, Plut. *Popl.* 21, that it was near the Anio, so that it was probably rather to the S. of a straight line between the two places. Cf. Wissowa in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.* iii. 2650.

[2] Hülsen (Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.* iv. 1604) proposes to read Φειδηναίους: for Tellenae was in a different direction (Strabo, v. 3. 4, p. 231; Nibby, *Analisi*, iii. 146). See Addenda, *infra*, 208.

first, gives it with *ibid.* 4012, of which we have already spoken ; 4014 was found in fragments, partly at S. Alessandro, partly at Capobianco ; while 4003 was probably found in the Tenuta della Cesarina, but even this is uncertain. As Dessau remarks, all the other inscriptions inserted under Ficulea, except those which were found by Castellani in 1826 in the neighbouring tenuta of Olevano, which belongs to the Borghese, are of the ordinary military or sepulchral type.

Nor does an examination of the district help us : the road which M. Consius Cerinthus repaired is no longer to be seen—the only trace of any ancient road is a cutting at the S. end of the Macchia della Cesarina, which would lead back to the Via Nomentana—and there are no remains of an earlier date—the few ruins which we saw, and which are marked on the map, all belong to the Roman period. The space occupied by the Macchia itself would be a fairly good site, but evidence is entirely wanting.

Nibby (*Analisi*, ii. 48) seems inclined to place Ficulea on the next hill to the E., Gell (*op. cit.* 247) at Torre Lupara—and there are other erroneous opinions (*supra*, 55, 59, 62 ; *infra*, 65).

The tenuta of Olevano lies to the N. of that of La Cesarina[1]—the casale is indicated as Casale Oleole on the map. Excavations were made here in 1826 by Castellani, and various inscriptions were discovered—one (*C.I.L.* xiv. 4001)[2] recording the restoration of a temple of the Bona Dea, the rest sepulchral (*ibid.* 4009, 4020, 4039, 4040, 4051, 4054, 4055). The last two are Christian sarcophagi, and are still in the Villa Borghese, but the rest have disappeared.

Returning to the Via Nomentana, we find a well-preserved piece of the ancient paving on the left, and, just after the 10th kilomètre stone, reach the so called 'Scavi del Papa S. Alessandro,' that is, the basilica and cemetery of S. Alexander (probably not the Pope). See Marucchi, *Catacombe romane*, 379 *sqq.* Some of the pagan inscriptions found here are given in *C.I.L.* xiv. (see index, but note that 4003, 4004a (for 4004), 4017 are all given in error as belonging to S. Alessandro) : others will be found in Stevenson's notes (*Vat. Lat.* 10551, f. 30) : for not all that he copied there seem to have found their way into the *Corpus*.

[1] So Cingolani's map, Nibby, *Analisi*, ii. 424—Tomassetti (*op. cit.* 50) puts it on the right of the Via Nomentana, at about the 12th kilomètre from Rome, but wrongly.

[2] The list of the inscriptions found with 4001 given by Dessau *in loc.* ('Borghesiane, Ficulesi, Aprile 1826,' praescripsit Amati huic et eis quae hanc sequuntur) is full of errors, and the inscriptions themselves must be consulted.

A little further on there is a considerable amount of débris on both sides of the road, that on the right belonging to a large villa, while on the left, nearer the road, some of the remains may be attributed to tombs. The centre of the group is the mediaeval Torraccio di Capobianco, into the upper part of which are built fragments of paving-stones and marble: it rests upon an ancient tomb, the chamber of which is of tufa concrete, with a barrel vault, while the exterior was faced with slabs of travertine. A little further on is the Casale Capobianco, which according to Nibby (*Analisi*, i. 384) rests upon the remains of a building of the time of Septimius Severus—of which, however, no traces are now to be seen.

In excavations made in October, 1795, in the tenuta of Capobianco, 8 miles from Rome, there were found the inscriptions *C.I.L.* vi. 764 (a dedication to Stata Mater), xiv. 4015 (a curious and somewhat rare placard, running thus: *in his praedis Aureliae Faustinianae balineus lavat(ur) more urbico et omnis humanitas praestatur*[1]), 4030 (a sepulchral inscription). The excavations were made by Ulisse Pentini (Marini also mentions Todini): and besides the inscriptions, actual remains of the baths were found, with a mosaic pavement 21½ palms (4·68 mètres) square (which was afterwards removed to Paris), with a hypocaust under it, supported alternately by terracotta tubes and brick pillars, about 3 Roman feet apart. The pavement was of geometrical design, and mainly in black and white. Some curious capitals were also found, and in a dividing wall constructed in later times many fragments of sculpture, including an Apollo in the Etruscan style, and an Isis. (Guattani, *Memorie enciclop.* ii. 55.) The former Pentini at the date of his letter to Guattani (1806) had given or sold to Domenico Arcieri, the latter was still in his own possession.

At the Casale di Capobianco a branch road, which seems to be purely modern, goes off to join the Strada Vecchia di Palombara, which, from the point of junction onwards, is in use once more as a road of the present day.

The pavement of the Via Nomentana is well preserved on both sides of the casale: to the N.E. of it I measured the width as 4·157 mètres (14 feet). From Capobianco the road runs on almost due N. and considerable portions of the pavement are at first preserved. Traces of unimportant buildings along it will be found indicated in the

[1] With this inscription were found others, including one of travertine with the epitaph of a *scurra*, the text of which is not given.

map. A sepulchral inscription cut on a travertine cippus found among the remains of a brick tomb near Casenuove is given in *Not. Scav.* 1895, 248. At the N. end of the Macchia della Cesarina is an apse in very bad brickwork, probably that of a church, facing S.W.: it is 4 mètres in diameter, and has two small round-headed windows, 76 cm. high and 30 wide on the inside. It is probably to this that Martelli (of course wrongly) alludes as the Temple of Mars of *C.I.L.* xiv. 4012: 'è certo che vi fosse nella sommità della valle il tempio di Marte di figura rotonda, come si ravvisa dal residuo del suo edifizio, da varie spezzate colonnette che guardano Torre Lupara e Casal S. Antonio, e da qualche segno di via lastricata nel clivo per cui vi si ascendeva.' Near it is débris of all kinds—fragments of white marble, brick, concrete, etc., with paving-stones.

Beyond the 14th kilomètre stone, on the same side, are other groups of ruins, and there are more close to Torre Lupara: to the E. of it is a large reservoir with three chambers (Nibby, *Analisi*, ii. 342) which is marked as 'Theatri rudera' in Cingolani's map.

On the right of the road at the 14th kilomètre is the Casale S. Antonio, which occupies a remarkably strong site, though what is to be seen there is purely mediaeval.

The ancient road must now have run just to the right of the modern, which cuts through the foundations of some ancient buildings; and soon afterwards it turns off sharply to the N.E., making a steep descent and ascent, and rejoining the modern road, which keeps round the head of the Valle Valentino, just before the Casale di Monte Gentile, which, though mediaeval, probably occupies an ancient site, as there appears to be a fragment of ancient construction between it and the road. According to an erroneous view (*supra*, 62), Monte Gentile was the site of Ficulea: Canina in his map puts it on a hill rather further S., in the centre of which is point 110 in the map; whereas Nibby (*Analisi*, i. 332) puts Caenina here,[1] though in his map he places it (doubtfully) in the Macchia della Cesarina. Gell (*op. cit.* 129) puts it N. of Turrita (*infra*, 173), Westphal (*op. cit.* 125) at S. Angelo. The place appears twice in the earliest history of Rome: (1) Romulus was sacrificing there (before the foundation of Rome) when Remus was captured by the shepherds of Numitor (Dionys. i. 79. 13), and (2) it was from Acro, king of Caenina, that Romulus won the first *spolia opima*, in the battle following the rape of the Sabine women,

[1] This is the site selected by Bormann (*Altlatin. Chorographie*, 255) for Corniculum.

when the people of Caenina were the first to attack the Romans, but were easily defeated and their city taken (Liv. i. 10). It figures in Pliny's list of the lost towns of Latium (*H.N.* iii. 68): and of its site we really know nothing, except that it must have been situated close to Rome, as it is mentioned in connexion with Crustumerium and Antemnae (Liv. *loc. cit.*). It gave its name to a priesthood of the Roman State, which still existed in the time of the Empire (cf. Hülsen and Wissowa in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.* iii. 1278, 1279; Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*, 447 *sqq.*—in Müller's *Handbuch der Klass. Altertumsw.* v. 4).

Just N. of the 16th kilomètre stone is an oblong chamber of concrete made of chips of white limestone, perhaps a conserva as Nibby (*Schede*, i. 48) conjectures, but more probably a tomb, but on the left of the road, not on the right (as Tomassetti, *op. cit.* 58, n. 2, says).

On the right Nibby (*Schede*, *cit.*) noticed a 'rudere informe forse di sepolcro'; and on the same side, a little further on, is the large tomb, crowned by a mediaeval tower, marked in the map as Torre Mancini. Nibby (*Schede*, i. 48) notes that the cornice is in the style of that of the Arch of Titus. The sepulchral inscription, *Eph. Epigr.* vii. 1263, found on the right of the road, 25 mètres beyond the 16th kilomètre stone, is referred to the first of these three tombs by Gatti (*Bull. Com.* 1888, 181; cf. *Not. Scav.* 1888, 288). It is a large cippus, erected to Ulpia Euhodia by her husband, *T. Flavius Aug. lib. Delphicus, tabularius a ratio*[*n*](*ibus*) [*p*]*roc*(*urator*) *ration*(*is*) *thesaurorum hereditatium fisci Alexandrin*(*i*). The interpretation is doubtful: Dessau supposes that we have here three successive procuratorships; Mommsen, that the man was 'procurator rationis thesaurorum hereditatium fisci Alexandrini,' *i.e.* that he had charge of the accounts, the money, and the legacies accruing to the fiscus Alexandrinus (cf. *Bull. Inst. Diritto Rom.* i. 261).[1]

To the N.E. of Torre Mancini excavations were made in 1888, 600 m. to the E. of the modern road, along the course of a small stream. Here a small but elegant private bath establishment was discovered, a plan and full description of which are given in *Not. Scav.* 1888, 285 *sqq.* Some of the brickstamps found are given by Tomassetti, *op. cit.* 59 n.). The building is said by him to belong to the Flavian period: but the stamp bearing the name of T. Flavius . . . Cerinthus cannot be earlier than the time of

[1] Hirschfeld (*Die Kaiserlichen Verwaltungsbeamten bis auf Diocletian* (1905), 369 *sqq.*) decides in favour of Dessau's view.

Hadrian (*C.I.L.* xv. 710); the fragment Cn . port . . . li . . . cannot be exactly identified, but must belong to a rather later period (or at least to a date not before 140 A.D.); while the third (*C.I.L.* xv. 754b) belongs to the time of M. Aurelius. In *Not. Scav. cit.* the only brickstamp given is *C.I.L.* xv. 2392, the date of which is quite uncertain.

The principal hall had been restored in the fourth century, and in its pavement were found the sepulchral inscription *Eph. Epigr.* vii. 1264 and some other fragments; and in one of the small baths was another sepulchral inscription (*ibid.* 1265).

To the N. of this building, on the S. slope of the Monte Palombaro, is a large water reservoir, from which it was very likely supplied. To the W. of the road, just N. of the Fosso le Spallette di S. Margherita, in the Tenuta Conca, remains of mosaic pavements, and walls lined with red plaster, were found in 1884: also two tombs with some *unguentaria* in them, and a coin of Hadrian. The place seemed to have been already explored (*Not. Scav.* 1884, 39). In 1889 two fragments of the Acta Fratrum Arvalium were discovered here in the walls of a mediaeval church (Tomassetti, *op. cit.* 62, n.; *Bull. Com.* 1890, 110; *C.I.L.* vi. 32395). In *Not. Scav.* 1892, 51, it is wrongly stated that they were found in the baths just described. The dispersion of the fragments is remarkable (*C.I.L.* vi. p. 3261). Further to the N. again, on the Monte d'Oro, there is another reservoir. Before reaching this the road descends steeply, and is protected on the descent by massive supporting walls which keep up the bank on each side: they are in reticulatum and brick, with apsidal niches alternating with projecting buttresses, and weepholes to allow the moisture to escape (Tomassetti, *op. cit.* 60). Those on the right are the more conspicuous, but those on the left have recently been cleared.

To the N.W. of the reservoir on the Monte d'Oro[1] there are traces of construction in the bank on the right of the road, while on the left there is a circular chamber 4·75 mètres in diameter, sunk below the road level, with a lighthole at the top. It is cemented within, and its purpose and date are uncertain. A little further on is the Romitorio, and to the N. of it the wall of a tomb in opus quadratum, which can be traced running E. and W. across the modern road; the ancient road must therefore have kept more to the W. Beyond it again, on the right, is an oblong chamber in concrete below the level of the road—perhaps belonging to a tomb. Nibby notes (*Schede*,

[1] The theory that Nomentum was situated on the Monte d'Oro has little to recommend it.

cit.) the discovery of travertine steps and of fairly good sculptures here not long before 1823.

The Via Nomentana is now joined by the cross-road from Tibur described *supra*, 57. Excavations were conducted in 1901 along the first portion of this road, and six tombs were laid bare. The first was entirely built of blocks of travertine: in the angle on the spectator's right was built in a cippus of the same stone, bearing the inscription *Iter privatu(m)*. This cannot have referred to the road on which the tombs stood, but probably to the pathway, 84 cm. wide, between this tomb and the next. In the second tomb was found a sepulchral inscription. The rest were found about 40 mètres off, and were partly of brickwork, partly of opus reticulatum: two sepulchral inscriptions were found *in situ*; and in two of the urns were found four[1] lead plates with *defixiones* (*Not. Scav.* 1901, 205 *sqq.*; Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.* iv. 2373 *sqq.*).

To the N.E. are two reservoirs, belonging no doubt to villas, while to the W. at point 201 are more ruins.

The road descends steeply and then re-ascends to Mentana, there being no traces of antiquity in its last portion. The modern village probably occupies the lower part of the site of the ancient Nomentum, which extended further to the E., the only side upon which there is space available; on the other sides, especially on the W. and S., the position is well protected by ravines (cf. Nibby, *Analisi*, ii. 413). There are, however, no remains of walls or of buildings attributable to it to be seen *in situ*. The site is, however, really fixed by the distance of 14 miles from Rome given by the Tabula Peutingerana, which leaves no room for doubt. Monte d'Oro is over a mile too near to Rome, whereas the 14 miles take us just up to the modern village; and the name, Mentana, is obviously derived from Nomentum. Inscriptions have been found here, too, in which its magistrates and priesthoods are mentioned (*C.I.L.* xiv. 3955, 3956), though the exact site of their discovery is not known. As Dessau remarks (*C.I.L.* xiv. p. 440), there was considerable doubt in the minds of the Romans themselves whether Nomentum was to be considered to have belonged in origin to the Latin or the Sabine race: though the former opinion rightly prevailed, we find that Vergil (*Aen.* vi. 773, vii. 712) was sufficiently undecided to give both in two different passages! There

[1] So in the text, though illustrations of three only (two inscribed on both sides) are given, and the fourth is not further mentioned.

appears to have been a theory that the Anio formed the boundary of Latium in very early times (Plin. *H.N.* iii. 54), which would account for this discrepancy (but see Addenda, *infra*, 208).

Nomentum was given the *civitas sine suffragio* after the last war in which the Latins tried to contend against Rome, in 338 B.C. (Liv. viii. 14), and we hear of it as a *municipium*, whose highest magistrate, even in imperial times, was a *dictator*; it had also aediles and *quaestores alimentorum*, a *flamen perpetuus duumvirali potestate*, a municipal priest of the Magna Mater, and, apparently, *seviri Augustales*. Otherwise we hear nothing of it as a town, though the fertility of the estates in its neighbourhood, and especially of its vineyards, is often praised by Pliny and Martial. In the town itself may be seen some fragments of statuary, noted by Tomassetti (*op. cit.* 62, n.) and the sepulchral inscriptions *C.I.L.* xiv. 3948, 3961, 3962, 3972–4,[1] 3976, 3992. I may add that I saw *C.I.L.* 3958 (which Dessau was unable to find) in the garden of the Casale Cicconetti in 1898.

Discoveries of inscriptions are noted as having occurred early in the nineteenth century; the sepulchral inscriptions *C.I.L.* xiv. 3958, 3959, 3985, 3991a are described by Amati as having been found 'in the great cemetery along the Via Nomentana' in 1807; while *C.I.L.* xiv. 3945 (a sepulchral inscription erected by a *vigintisexvir* and his family in the time of Augustus) was found by shepherds in 1817. Excavations were made by Prince Borghese in the neighbourhood of Mentana in 1830, 1831, and 1833. In December, 1830, not far from Mentana a torso believed to be that of Bacchus (*Bull. Inst.* 1831, 29) was found—Tomassetti, however (*loc. cit.*), speaks of it as Hylas—and, apparently, several small heads and various terra-cottas (*Bull. Inst.* 1832, 6).

Inscriptions from the Borghese excavations are given, from Amati's copies, in *C.I.L.* xiv. 3941 (a dedication by D. Valerius Proculus, aedile, dictator and quaestor alimentorum, to Isis and Serapis, found not long before 1832, and probably by the Borghese), 3942 (a fragment of a dedication to Augustus, Tiberius, Germanicus and Drusus (?) found in October, 1833), 3943 (a fragment of a dedication to Tiberius), 3947, 3950, 3951, 3954, 3982, 3986, 3992a. Amati notes that many other inscriptions were 'found at Nomentum,' but, of course, not necessarily in these excava-

[1] Fabretti (*inscr.* 241, 655) saw 3961 'at the 13th mile of the Via Nomentana' (*i.e.* near the tombs alluded to *supra*, 67, 68) and (*ibid.* 371, 148, 149) 3973, 3974 'at the 11th mile near the ruins of an ancient theatre' (*i.e.* the reservoir near Monte Gentile, *supra*, 65), but the whole group are so much alike that Dessau thinks that they must have been found together.

tions. The sepulchral inscription *C.I.L. ibid.* 3975 was copied by him in the Quarto della Mezzaluna, which I cannot locate.

Excavations were also made in 1864 by Bondi and Ferri, a building being found with decorative mosaics and columns of grey marble.

Roads diverge from Mentana in various directions: there is, in the first place, one running E. to join the road to Palombara a little beyond Osteria Nuova (*supra*, 57), which probably follows an ancient line, though no certain traces of its antiquity are to be seen, and remains of ancient buildings are somewhat scanty. Another, of which we shall speak presently, runs due N. in continuation of the line of the Via Nomentana. A third runs N.W. to Monte Rotondo (*supra*, 26). Upon it (?) are the devastated remains of the cemetery of SS. Primus and Felicianus, placed at the 14th or 15th (so *Cod. Bern.*) mile of the Via Nomentana (the church, which Bosio saw, has been replaced by a modern chapel), and further on is the site of the church and cemetery of S. Restitutus (which Bosio saw, but which are now no longer visible) at the 16th mile, to the E. of the Cappuccini of Monte Rotondo. The cemetery of an unknown saint (perhaps S. Eutyches) was situated 18 miles from Rome, on the Via Nomentana (Bosio, *Roma Sotterranea*, 416; Stevenson, *Bull. Crist.* 1880, 106, and in Kraus, *Realencyclopädie*, ii. 124; Tomassetti, *op. cit.* 63, n.). A fourth is that which is supposed by some writers to be the Via Salaria, but wrongly (*supra*, 24, 49).

V.—THE VIA NOMENTANA (PROLONGED)

(*from Mentana to the Via Salaria at Fabbrica Palmieri*).

This line of road, as we have seen, leaves Nomentum on the N. side, and runs very slightly E. of N. to join the Via Salaria near the Fabbrica Palmieri, between the 25th and the 26th mile from Rome. Though there is no actual pavement *in situ* upon it (Westphal, *op. cit.* 124), there is no doubt as to its antiquity. It may have served as an alternative route to the Via Salaria, as the distance by it is about the same, but it is a good deal more hilly; and it does not seem to have been much frequented, inasmuch as it is not to be found either in the *Tabula Peutingerana* or in the Itineraries: and there are very few remains of antiquity along its course.

On the right is the so-called Torretta, built upon a water reservoir about 10 mètres long, in two storeys, the lower of which is divided into two aisles, each only 6 Roman feet wide, without trace of intercommunication, while the upper chamber was apparently undivided. This subdivision may possibly indicate that the reservoir supplied three separate buildings. To the left is the Casale Manzi, which certainly occupies the site of an ancient building: there are many blocks of travertine and bricks, and the three basreliefs of which Gori (*op. cit.* 68) speaks—that representing a horseman whipping his horse is on the back of a cippus, the front, with the inscription, being hidden by the wall against which it is built: the second is a fragment of a frieze—from a sarcophagus (?)—with marine monsters, and the third a relief of two peacocks pecking at a basket. His theory that Eretum stood here is, however, absolutely impossible, and is dictated by his view that the point of junction of the Via Salaria and Via Nomentana is just N. of Mentana itself (*supra*, 24), which leads him of necessity to suppose that Nomentum did not occupy the site of the modern Mentana—or else it would be too close to Eretum—and to accept the erroneous view that it was situated a mile nearer Rome (*op. cit.* 66; cf. *supra*, 67, n.).

At first our road presents no traces of antiquity: after about a mile and a half it crosses the Fosso di Gattaceca by a modern bridge, in the construction of which ancient paving-stones have been largely employed: and soon afterwards it is joined by a path from Monte Rotondo, which continues E. past Castel Chiodato to join the road to Palombara, and probably follows the line of an ancient road (as Nibby, *Analisi*, ii. 374, thinks), though there is no positive evidence except the straight line which it takes. At Gattaceca, Nibby (*Analisi*, ii. 144) and Tomassetti (*op. cit.* 114, n. 1) put the junction of the Via Salaria (which the latter therefore brings up past Monte Rotondo) and the Via Nomentana.

In about another mile we reach the ruins of Grotta Marozza, which are those of a mediaeval fortress (Guattani, *Mon. Sabini*, ii. 351; Tomassetti, *op. cit.* 113 *sqq.*). Nibby (*Analisi*, ii. 143) and Gell (*op. cit.* 201) wrongly identified the site with Eretum (*supra*, 24, 28).

The Aquae Labanae mentioned by Strabo (v. 3. 11, p. 238, τοιαῦτα δὲ (*i.e.* similar to the Aquae Albulae[1]) καὶ τὰ Λαβανά, οὐκ ἄπωθεν τούτων ἐν τῇ Νωμεντανῇ καὶ τοῖς περὶ Ἡρητὸν τόποις) may, on the other hand, be

[1] Strabo calls the Aquae Albulae 'cold' (*infra*, 117, n. 1).

placed in this neighbourhood: there is a sulphur spring a little way S. of the villa marked in our map E. of Grotta Marozza, and another two and a half miles further N.E.; the former is no doubt that which bears the name Bagni di Grotta Marozza (Nibby, *loc. cit.*).

To the N.E. of Grotta Marozza there are the remains of several other villas, of no great importance: one of them, on the Monte Villa, just N.E. of the Fosso Buffala, has a supporting wall of polygonal blocks of travertine. To the E. of this, and just E. of the Fontanile del Tesoro, are two headless male statues lying in a field. They may very likely belong to a tomb: in any case they were only intended to be seen from the front. They are about life size, draped, and badly executed in white marble. To the N. are the ruins known as the Grottoline (point 175 on the map), a water reservoir 9·20 mètres in length, divided into two aisles each 2·53 mètres in width by a wall pierced by three arches, each with a span of 2·40 mètres. These arches are 1·71 mètre high, and above them are smaller arches with a span of 1·26 mètre, 80 cm. in height. The dividing wall is 87 cm. in thickness, and the outer walls 80 cm.

To the E.N.E. of the Grottoline there is another villa, close to the village of Cretone, which does not present any definite traces of antiquity. To the N.N.W. of it is the second of the sulphur springs mentioned above, near to which in the valley are the remains of a building, possibly of baths, while to the W. of it is a deep pool, on one side of which is a massive concrete wall (probably a dam), apparently not of Roman date. On the hill to the E. of the sulphur spring stood a villa.

From Cretone, a path, which presents no traces of antiquity, runs S.E. to join the road from Castel Chiodato to Palombara (*supra*, 58). After crossing the line of that which runs N. towards Monte Venere, it passes S. of the remains of a church on the Colle Pedeschiavo. The building, which faces 40° N. of E., may have served originally for other uses, as its plan is hardly that of a church. A doorway 2·05 mètres wide, in front of which two pillars project 1·50 mètre, as though for a porch, leads into a chamber 7·8 mètres in length and about 3·70 in width, from which a doorway 1·16 mètre wide (the total length of the threshold block being 2·31 mètres) leads into another chamber 3·08 mètres in length, and the same in width as the first. On the S.E. side a chamber 2·80 mètres in width runs the whole length of the building.

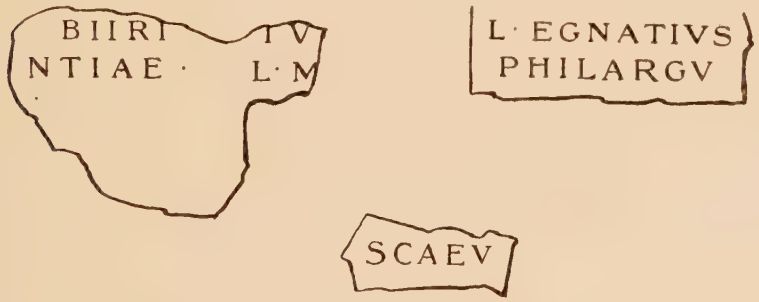
The construction of the walls, which vary in width from 50 to 95 cm.,

is remarkably bad, and the materials are of various kinds. In the building were found a Roman sepulchral statue, and other fragments of sculpture: a piece of black glazed Etrusco-Campanian ware, with palmettes stamped on the bottom, and a marble slab with a Pagan sepulchral inscription,

C · SVLPICIVS · C · L...
CHRESIMVS
HIRPIA · Q · L · MVSA
C · MARCIVS · C · L · THEOPHILVS
C N · CASSIVS · CN · L · EPAPHRA
C · SVLPICIVS · C · L · SALVIVS

The slab measures 45 cm. wide by 425 mm. high, and the letters vary from 40 to 22 mm. in height.

There are also several fragments of tomb inscriptions,



one of the doorposts of the earlier building, and fragments of the top of the screen of the presbytery with the inscription

VIRGINiS · O..... LIS GRATES.... CERUNTB.... VITE + AN · .....

which indicates that it was dedicated to the Virgin. The pavement was in the so-called *opus Alexandrinum*, squares of white marble alternating with fragments of red porphyry and green serpentine.[1]

Returning to the road which we left near Grotta Marozza, we find that it continues to run in a straight line. Among the brick rubbish by the road I found the brickstamp [___] CVIϹI with the cornucopiae on

[1] These objects are in the possession of Signor Bonfigli of Palombara, who kindly allowed me to examine them.

the right—a variety of *C.I.L.* xv. 1511: and there are some limestone paving-stones loose in the path. At the bridge over the Fosso Buffala there are some blocks of squared stone in the stream bed and in the bridge itself, probably belonging to the earlier structure: and on the ascent beyond it paving-stones may be seen in the field walls. The road now descends to the valley of the Fiora, turning sharply to the left. In a straight line with its course up till now is the Torre Fiora, which is entirely mediaeval, but perhaps marks the starting point of a road to join the Via Salaria at Eretum (*supra*, 29).

At the top of the hill our road becomes practicable for carriages for a short distance, as far as the Osteria di Moricone, a cross-road diverging to the W. joining it to the modern Via Salaria. To the E. of the point of junction are some ruins of uncertain date.

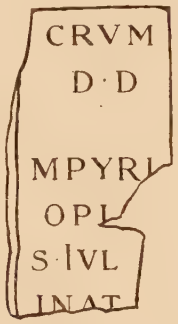
A little way beyond the Osteria the road is crossed at right angles by a path coming from the Via Salaria at the Riserva Moscio, and running to Palombara, which in all probability follows an ancient line: the cutting made for it between two hills to the W. of Monte Venere (*infra*, 83), 3·70 mètres in width, shows every sign of antiquity.

A little further on, the cutting of the road we are following is clear on the W. of the modern path, with the remains of a tomb (?) on its E. edge, and of a more extensive building a little further off. Just S. of Tre Ponti there is a large mediaeval castle to the W. of the road, in the walls of which are one or two limestone paving-stones. After this point cuttings may be seen on the E. side of the present path, but, as the soil is soft and sandy, their age is uncertain; and the same remark applies to the cutting by which it ascends to the modern road from the station of Passo Corese to Monte Libretti (*supra*, 32) and to those through which it passes below this village. Chaupy (*op. cit.* iii. 90) seems, however, to have seen traces of it: 'elle . . . pût passer au lieu appelé la Madonna della Spiga' (a chapel on the modern road, marked on the map Madonna della Vigna Grande), 'et sous Monte Libretti où l'on en voit les vestiges les plus sensibles devant la vigne du Prince.'

Monte Libretti contains no traces of antiquity,[1] except some marble columns and other fragments, and two incomplete inscriptions noted by Stevenson (*Vat. Lat.* 10551, f. 56, 56ᵛ). The first, upon half a cippus in good

[1] Various conjectures as to its ancient name are given by Nibby, *Analisi*, ii. 347.

lettering, he saw lying near one of the first houses at the foot of the hill by which the modern road enters the village. The inscription runs



and is obviously a fragment of a dedication—thus

. . . . [sa] crum | . . . . . d(onum) d(edit) |
. . mpyri | . . . . opl | . . . . [Kalendi]s Iul(iis) |

Between the second and third lines, occupying the centre of the field, was a relief which had been cut away and rendered unrecognisable ; while on the right-hand side was a tripod, and at the back an olive branch with birds. The style of the reliefs was good. The second he saw built into the front of the chapel at the foot of the hill ascending to the village on the N. The letters were large and well carved, but all that remained was

The fragment of a letter at the beginning of the first line is part either of an M or an R. In the fountain to the W. of the village an ancient lion's head in white marble is in use as a jet.

To the W. of Monte Libretti is the Colle Lungo, at the N. end of which is an extensive subterranean water reservoir described by Stevenson, which I have visited. It consists of a main passage going N. and S., over 100 mètres long, with short branches to the right and left every five or six mètres ; both the main passage and its branches are about two mètres high and 90 cm. wide ; there are circular shafts with footholes for descent at the points of junction. The reservoir is excavated in yellow sandy soil,

and, though well constructed and cemented, it has fallen in to some extent, so that to visit it is neither very easy nor very safe.

Stevenson also notes (*ibid.*) that below the Miglioria Bigelli remains of baths had been found, with lead pipes (apparently uninscribed), and many stamped bricks (afterwards lost), and fragments of marble.

To the N. of Monte Libretti the road we have been following approaches the modern road from Palombara and Moricone to the Fabbrica Palmieri (*infra*, 80 *sqq.*) (which itself probably follows an ancient line, though between Moricone and Monte Libretti there are no traces of antiquity), and then turns due N. On the W. of it are the remains of a large reservoir in *opus reticulatum*; the one wall preserved is only 46 cm. thick, decreasing to 38 cm. about two mètres above ground level, but is strengthened by internal buttresses 30 cm. thick and 75 cm. wide. The original length and width are not determinable. The ruin is known as the Muraccio delle Sterparelle (*supra*, 33).

Further to the N. but still on the W. of the road, brick fragments may be seen in two places (indicated on the map), while on the Colle S. Biagio to the E. of the road Stevenson (*Cod. cit.* 57) notes that he was informed of the existence of ruins, water cisterns, and other remains of antiquity. Guattani (*Mon. Sabini*, ii. 73) mentions the existence of massive Cyclopean walls between Monte Libretti and Montorio Romano, which lies four miles to the E. in the hills.

At the Osteria della Creta our road joins the Via Salaria (*supra*, 34), and to complete our survey of the territory under examination we have now to return to Palombara and work north- and north-westwards.

VI.—PALOMBARA AND DISTRICT.

The town of Palombara stands on an isolated hill, but the place itself presents no certain traces of antiquity, and neither Nibby (*op. cit.* ii. 530) nor Gell (*op. cit.* 339) attempted to identify it with any ancient site. Cameria is, however, placed here by some writers, though, as Hülsen remarks (Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.* iii. 1428), there is no sufficient evidence. We know from Dionys. v. 49 that it lay about a night's march from Rome, for Verginius attacked it at dawn after having left Rome in the evening (502 B.C.); and from the towns with which it is mentioned (Corniculum, Ficulea vetus, Crustumerium, Ameriola, Medullia, Nomentum—Liv. i. 38)

we can conclude that it lay N. of the Anio, E. of the Tiber, and W. of the Sabine Mountains. Nibby (*op. cit.* i. 353) is certainly wrong in putting it in the Anio valley between Tivoli and Vicovaro: Gell (*op. cit.* 136) puts it about a mile to the S. of Moricone (*infra*, 83). It had completely disappeared in later times, and occurs in Pliny's list of the lost cities of Latium (*H.N.* iii. 68).

The following record of discoveries is given in *Bull. Inst.* 1832, 6:—

'Il Sig. Antonio Barbarossa ha trovato in Palombara molte monete di bronzo, ed un pavimento di musaico.'

The finding of a tomb of a curious type at La Cascianella, near Palombara, is described by Armellini (*Cronichetta*, 1883, 142). It was formed of two parallel lines of flange tiles about 80 cm. apart, with others at the top and bottom: the skeletons were placed within in a long row without partitions.

A marble weight (decussis) found near Palombara was presented by Sig. Bonfigli to the Museo delle Terme in 1901–2. The inscription which it bears will shortly be published by Sig. Vaglieri, Director of the Museum.

At Palombara there is an important meeting-point of roads: there are four to the S. of it—that from Tivoli (*infra*, 173), the two from S. Francesco and Montecelio (*infra*, 177), and that from Rome (*supra*, 58); that from Tivoli continues N. of Palombara to Moricone and to the Via Salaria, having a branch to the N.W. (*supra*, 74) shortly after leaving Palombara.

It may be well, however, to examine first the remains on the lower slopes of Monte Gennaro, to the E. and N.E. of the town.

Due E. of the Casino Belli (*infra*, 176) are the remains of a villa which had two platforms, on the upper of which was a large open circular piscina: remains of marble (including a piece of the rare *granito della sedia*) and painted plaster show that it was finely decorated.

To the N.E. of it is the ruined monastery of S. Nicola, which is built upon the remains of a very large villa with four distinct platforms: the massive substruction walls are of *opus reticulatum*, with the exception of one (only preserved to the height of one course) which is in quasi-horizontal masonry.

To the N.N.W. of this villa, and facing, like it, 20° S. of W., are five parallel terraces (increasing, to the W. of point 695, to eight) rising one above the other on the hillside. On the Colle Tiutillo, immediately to the N.W. of point 695, which is crowned by the ruins of a mediaeval

castle (Il Castiglione), similar terraces may be observed on the S. and W. sides (six on the former, two on the latter), but not on the N. and E., facing respectively 25° E. of S. and 25° S. of W. (the one wall observable on the N. side belongs to the substruction of a road descending to the valley of the Fosso Palamento); while on the W. slopes of the Monte Madano, to the E. of the Ponte Grosso, there are six such terraces. These Cyclopean walls all present the same characteristics: they are built of rough blocks of local limestone, which have probably been broken with hammers but have not been smoothed, varying in width and height from 40 to 70 cm. and in depth from 50 cm. to 1 mètre.[1] They rise to a height of 2 to 3 mètres, and are apparently about 1·50 mètre thick, the inner side naturally not standing free; but an exact measurement is, as a rule, impossible owing to the limestone débris which covers the top of the terrace (Fig. 6). This is generally about 3 mètres in width, the amount of level (or more or less level) ground behind varying considerably, and the terraces are some 30 to 50 mètres apart. There are some exceptions to the rule that the blocks are not dressed: thus, on the S. side of the Colle Tiutillo, near the S.W. angle, on the line of the second terrace, there is a platform projecting from it, measuring 9·05 mètres in width, 8·41 in depth to the wall at the back, which is 77 cm. thick, and 1·80 m. in height, the blocks of which are carefully dressed and jointed, both the inner and the outer faces having been smoothed: and 6 mètres behind the sixth and uppermost platform, just below the Castiglione, there is an open cistern in the terrace, 2 mètres in depth, measuring 4·85 by 5·50 mètres, in which the blocks are much more carefully smoothed and jointed than in the platform itself (Fig. 7). The apparent regularity in the construction of this terrace (Fig. 8), as contrasted with the irregularity visible in the third from the bottom (Fig. 9), may be due to chance (the limestone often fracturing horizontally), or possibly to difference in date of erection—though the latter is by no means a necessary supposition. I have discussed the question of variation of style in Cyclopean constructions in which difference of date cannot be admitted in connexion with the walls of Circeii (*Mélanges de l'École Française*, 1905, 181 *sqq.*), and need not, I think, repeat here what I have said. It will be seen, too, from Fig. 6 (a view taken along the line of the uppermost wall) that its regularity is, after all, not so very great. (I must also notice a wall going 20° W. of N. (*i.e.* at right angles) from near the W.S.W.

[1] Typical blocks measured 58 × 45, 60 × 35, 54 × 40, 66 × 70 × 65 cm. The stick which appears in Figs. 6, 7 is 93 cm. high.

end of the uppermost terrace, forming the edge of a large flat expanse to the W. of the Castiglione. This wall is only preserved to the height of a single block, and its thickness is apparently about 3 mètres.)

The question as to the object of these constructions now arises: and it is a fortunate thing that investigations recently carried on in the neighbourhood of Norba supply an extremely probable answer.

Above the Abbey of Valvisciolo, not far from the station of Sermoneta, at a place called Rava Roscia, on the W. slopes of the Monte Carbolino, there is a group of similar constructions. Their position is shown in the general plan of the environs of Norba in *Not. Scav.* 1901, 517, and a short description of them is given *ibid.* 554 by Signori Savignoni and Mengarelli, who were in charge of the Government excavations at Norba, while a longer article on the same subject will be found in *Not. Scav.* 1904, 407 *sqq.*, in which the same writers deal with the results of their investigations in 1903. Further explorations have been carried on in April and May, 1905, by Signori Mengarelli and Paribeni. The platforms of Rava Roscia were at first supposed to belong to a road ascending the mountain side in zig-zags, but further examination has shown that this was not the case,[1] inasmuch as these platforms run generally in straight or sharply broken lines, often almost horizontally, and as a rule without intercommunication. Some of them are preserved to their original height, which varied in different cases, the maximum being over seven mètres. Another supposition was that they might have served to support the soil necessary for cultivation: but the steep bare mountain slopes would have presented an unfavourable opportunity, and the width of available ground would have been small; while the choice of such a site would be very hard to explain, when the Pomptine Marshes just below afforded such a vast expanse of fertile land. It seems therefore more probable to Signori Savignoni, Mengarelli and Paribeni that we have here a system of terraces which served as an effective fortification, with several successive lines of defences, and at the same time to support the huts of the inhabitants—an object for which some of them still serve at the present day. They cite (*Not. Scav.* 1904, 409, n.) as a parallel, and in my opinion quite rightly, the terrace walls of which we have been speaking, in the neighbourhood of Palombara, where they are locally known, though, as we have seen, wrongly, as 'stradoni' or roads.

[1] In my opinion an exception must be made in favour of the lowest of the group towards the N.W. extremity, which ascends somewhat sharply in a curve.

There is, in fact, a very close similarity between the two cases, while at Rava Roscia excavations have confirmed the conclusions already arrived at (*Not. Scav.* 1904, *cit.*).

In the ground behind the terrace walls and among the stones of the walls themselves fragments of pottery belonging to the first Iron Age were discovered, and, in one place, an undisturbed inhumation burial, with a considerable quantity of pottery and other objects, which are contemporary with and closely similar to those found in the oldest tombs of the necropolis of Caracupa (*Not. Scav.* 1903, 342 *sqq.*) and may be assigned to the 8th century B.C., including as they do two *hydriae* of the Villanova type. But all these are of course anterior to the creation of the terrace walls, which, owing to the discovery near them of many fragments of fine *bucchero*, may be assigned to the 6th century B.C.

The work of the present spring has led to the discovery in one place of a large number of small votive objects in pottery, including specimens both of archaic Latin ware, of *bucchero*, and of Italo-Greek types. It would appear, indeed, that the present settlement, like the necropolis of Caracupa, ceased to be in use when Norba began to be: for at Norba nothing has been found which takes us back beyond the 5th (or possibly the 6th) century B.C. (*Not. Scav.* 1901, 539, 558; 1903, 261).

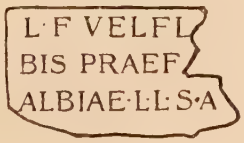
At Palombara the slopes are less steep, but the ground is a good deal more stony and bare than at Norba: and, in the absence of excavations, I noticed no fragments of pottery there. But the parallel is interesting and striking: and a comparative study of the two groups of constructions would very likely lead to important results. My description of the Palombara group lacks any plan of the platforms in detail: this would have taken considerable time and trouble to make, even with the help of a competent surveyor, and would have required, to make it complete and clear, the accurate mathematical determination of the relative elevation of the various walls. As I am not without hope of being able to devote more attention to the subject, my description must be regarded as provisional.

Returning to the road going N. from Palombara, we find that a path soon diverges from it to the N.W., said in its first portion (which I have not explored) to retain traces of ancient pavement. It crosses the Via Nomentana (prolonged) at right angles a little way to the N. of the Osteria di Moricone (*supra*, 74). The church of S. Michele, to the E. of the

highroad, has paintings of the 14th century, but does not seem to occupy an ancient site. An unfluted column of white marble about 7 feet in height and 1 in diameter is apparently preserved as a sacred relic. On the Colle Veneziano, to the W., a villa has been found, of which no traces are now visible. To the E. of this point traces of the pavement of the ancient road may be seen in the bank on the W. of the modern. The variations in the course of the former from that of the latter are indicated, both here and to the S. of Palombara, from a map of the new road (which was only made in 1868) kindly lent me by Sig. Bonfigli. A little further to the N. we reach the district called Le Rotavelle;[1] here the road is crossed at right angles by a path which undoubtedly follows an ancient line. To the E. it follows the S. bank of the Fosso Palamento, passing by the remains of several ancient buildings—first, close to the path, a reservoir with two aisles (so far as I could see) divided by brick arches. Whether this is that which Nibby (*Schede*, iv. 34) describes as in the Vigna Belli, and as being constructed of *opus reticulatum*, having three aisles with eight arches in each of the dividing walls, and a modern roof, I rather doubt: but if not, then it has disappeared.[2] The aqueduct of opus incertum and

[1] Here a dedicatory inscription to Diana is said to have been found (*C.I.L.* xiv. 3928).

[2] As Nibby's description of Le Rotavelle—the district with which we are dealing—in *Analisi*, ii. 534 is somewhat brief, it may be of interest to give the full text of his notes (*Schede*, iv. 34): 'Giovedi 29 Maggio (1823) ci dirigemmo a Monticelli e Palombara (da Tivoli). Passato il ponte dell' Acquoria si trova poco dopo un rudere di emplecton di scaglie di selce (*infra*, 151) quindi una cappelletta ed un bivio; noi prendemmo a sinistra benchè la strada più breve a Monticelli sia la destra: seguendo la via a sin. vi rimarcai molti poligoni che per antica fanno riconoscere questa strada, la quale sembra la stessa che come via antica Tiburtina trovasi descritta in Cabral e nella sua Topografia (*infra*, 110, 152). Due miglia dopo Tivoli a qualche distanza a destra vidi ruderi di pietre quadrate di sostruzione sotto un colle (*infra*, 167) e ½ miglio dopo altre rovine pur di pietre quadrate sopra di un colle forse avanzi di qualche antica città in questi dintorni'—Caenina (?) (*infra*, 173). After describing his visit to Monticelli, where the only ruins of which he could hear were those near Colle Ferro at Le Caprine (*infra*, 119), he continues: 'scendendo verso Palombara, si traversa una macchia dentro la quale appena disceso il colle di Monticelli circa un miglio distante dal villaggio dopo il lavatore cominciasi a trovare ruderi antichi: quindi veggonsi avanzi di un' acquedotto di *opus mixtum* ed altri ruderi s'incontrano ad ogni tratto ora reticolati ora laterizi di buona costruzione (*infra*, 179). Altri ruderi si trovano poco prima di Palombara . . . Nella Casa Ferretti che è nella parte nord-est dell' acropoli e sotto di essa vidi un frammento di orologio solare concavo, una testa di cervo, ed una iscrizione di



the brick ruins in the Vigna Imperiali are likewise not to be certainly recognised, though there are some remains of a brick building a little way S. of the reservoir, now almost entirely buried. The polygonal remains, however, which he describes in the Vigna Belli are still to be seen there, a very short distance to the S.W., though, as far as I could see or learn, they are of limited extent, the platform which I saw, upon which the cottage stands, measuring only 20·54 mètres by 34·17. The supporting walls only stand to a height of two courses, and there is apparently in some parts an intentional avoidance of horizontal lines. The blocks are finely jointed, and the faces are smooth: the largest I measured was 1·30 m. long by 74 cm. wide by 66 cm. thick.

Further up the valley he apparently did not go: but there are other remains to be seen there. Two hundred yards to the E.S.E. on the ridge is a reservoir with a single chamber, and further on again the remains of a platform in Cyclopean masonry of a villa, and the supporting walls of a road apparently 3·25 mètres in width going on up the valley, parallel to, but rather above, the modern path, which itself follows an ancient line. Nibby, after leaving the Vigna Belli, returned to the line of the present highroad and apparently saw parts of the *crepido* of the ancient road still *in situ*: after this he says that he went southwards, and saw three reservoirs, the last, a circular one some 90 palms (20 mètres) in diameter, in a place called Martini. Unless the remains he has hitherto been describing are to the N. of the Ponte Grosso (which from the mention of

cui mi presentò il proprietario solo la copia manoscritta come trovata a Rotavelle' (*C.I.L.* xiv. 3929: according to other authors here cited, the inscription itself was at Stazzano).

'Il Sig. Ferretti ci accompagnò la mattina del 30 a Rotavelle luogo circa 2 m. distante da Palombara nella direzione di Moricone: ivi osservammo ruderi incogniti di reticolato non regolare, molti altri rud(eri) d' incertum: un capitello ionico di lavoro grossolano di travertino. Nella vigna Ferretti che la prima percorremmo fu trovato l'orologio solare: quindi passammo nella vigna Belli dove riconoscemmo a fior di terra mura di poligoni della epoca terza, cioè politi da tre parti, che certamente furono recinto di città rintracciandosene gli avanzi per un miglio almeno, forse Cameria. Ivi dappresso trovammo una conserva a tre navi di opera reticolata con otto archi la cui volta è moderna, e un acquedotto d' incertum con canaloni. Nella vigna Imperiali si vede un pezzo di opera laterizia che è ad angolo retto colle rovine preced(enti). Vi si veggono altri ruderi informi ed astraco. Dopo questa uscendo e diriggendosi verso occid(ente) veggonsi avanzi di una crepidine di via che va da sett(entrione) a mezzo giorno e dopo questa seg(uendo) la direz(ione) merid(ionale) trovasi un' altra conserva con volta crollata di un' emplecton finissimo: un' altra se ne trova dopo sepolta, e quindi nel luogo denominato Martini si vede il giro di una piscina circolare di circa 90 palmi di diametro: evidente ivi si vede l'andamento di una via antica della quale se ne può precisare la larghezza a 14 palmi (= 3·10 mètres) la quale secondo la relazione de' naturali viene dalla Fiora e può considerarsi come parte dell' altra e communicazione fra le vie Salaria, Nomentana e Valeria' (cf. *Analisi*, ii. 293).

the Vigna Belli and of the Vigna Ferretti—the latter is to the W. of it, just W. of the highroad—seems to me to be impossible) he has fallen into some confusion, as the circular piscina is to the N.E. of the Ponte Grosso.

The road on the S. bank of the Fosso Palamento continued, I was told, on the W. of the highroad. The ancient road cut off the large bend made by the highroad at the Ponte Grosso, descending to the valley, and ascending again sharply. On its E. edge are the remains of a villa, just to the N. of which another path crosses it at right angles. This path is ancient: the fieldwall flanking it, on the E. of the highroad, is full of paving-stones,[1] while just N.W. of the Ponte Grosso I saw some paving-stones *in situ* a few years ago. It must, indeed, be the road of which Nibby speaks as going towards the Fiora, and must before very long join the road on the S. bank of the Fosso Palamento, both falling into the road from Palombara to the neighbourhood of the Osteria di Moricone a little N. of point 105 (*supra*, 74). If Nibby is right in saying that the road went towards the Fiora, then the line going W. from point 105 should be ancient too.

It is not unlikely, though not certain, that the path coming to point 105 from the S. is ancient also. In that case, we may assume it to be prolonged as far as Monte Venere or even Stazzano. Nibby, *Analisi*, ii. 374, 378, speaks of an ancient road from Grotta Marozza to Castel Chiodato, Cretone and Stazzano, and would certainly seem to refer to this line. At Monte Venere the prominent ruins of a modern farmhouse are built upon an ancient water reservoir, and traces of Roman buildings may be seen at three points further W.

Returning to the road to Moricone, which we left at Ponte Grosso, we find that it keeps to the W. of the modern road all the way. Moricone itself presents no traces of antiquity (Gell, *op. cit.* 136), though the ruins known as Le Pedicate, near it, have been variously identified with Cameria, Orvinium and Regillum. Of Cameria we have already spoken; Orvinium is with more probability to be sought in the valley of the Salto, as Gell and Nibby (*Analisi*, ii. 379) point out; while of Regillum we only know that it was a Sabine city, from which came Attius Clausus, the father of the Claudian gens, so that Nibby's identification rests on insufficient grounds.

[1] Above it, further E. are the remains of what appears to be a church, to the N. of which are the terraces of Monte Madano (*supra*, 78).

The ruins at Le Pedicate consist of remains of Cyclopean walls, shortly described by Gell and Nibby and attributed by them to a city: from a sketch given by the former, they seem to resemble those on the Monte Madano (*supra*, 78), but from the maps of both writers it would appear that they are to be sought just below the modern road, to the S. of the Convento, on a hill known as Colle Palombara; it is not clear whether they run in a straight line or lines, or whether they enclose a space. I have not been able so far to discover them, enquiries having proved fruitless; but I must confess that I have not thoroughly searched the neighbourhood of Moricone, which, to tell the truth, lies somewhat far from the Roman Campagna in the narrower sense. I may conclude my survey of the district by mentioning that the road going N.N.W. from Moricone to join the prolongation of the Via Nomentana N. of Monte Libretti is no doubt the concluding portion of the important deverticulum from Tibur to the Via Salaria, part of which we have already followed, while its southern portion will be dealt with *infra*, 173 *sqq.* Just to the N. of Moricone it passes by the remains of a very large villa in *opus reticulatum*, with an open circular cistern. There are no traces of antiquity on the cross-road from near this point to Monte Libretti, except for the ruins marked at point 145, which are unimportant foundations in concrete.

Having thus completed our survey of the Via Salaria and the Via Nomentana, and of the territory through which they pass, we now return to Rome, and take up the examination of the Via Tiburtina and its branches.

VIA TIBURTINA.

I.—FROM THE PORTA TIBURTINA TO SETTECAMINI.

The Via Tiburtina is one of the most important roads that issue from the gates of Rome, carrying a large amount both of local and of long-distance traffic.[1] The road itself is, however, until the last part of its course, in no way remarkable either for the beauty of the country which it traverses, or for the difficulties which have had to be dealt with by its engineers. On the contrary, until the actual ascent to Tibur begins, the road runs through a gently undulating and somewhat monotonous district,

[1] For the division of the roads radiating from Rome into these two classes, see *Papers of the British School at Rome*, i. 127.

and has no obstacles to contend with, except the river Anio, which it twice crosses. The ascent to Tibur, too, though fairly steep, presents no problems of engineering. The result is that the modern road has followed the ancient line pretty closely, and no deviations of importance are to be noticed until two-thirds of the distance have been traversed, in the neighbourhood of Bagni, where the change in line is probably due to the inundations of the sulphur springs, which, until they were carried to the Anio by a canal (constructed by Cardinal Ippolito d'Este in the 16th century), ran unchecked over the plain. The Antonine itinerary gives the distance from Rome to Tibur as 20 miles, while the Tabula Peutingerana allows 16 (which should undoubtedly be corrected to 14) miles from Rome to the station ad aquas Albulas, the distance between this station and Tibur having fallen out. No milestones have been found between Rome and Tibur—that given by many authors as the 14th is a forgery (*C.I.L.* xiv. 361 *). The positions of those which have been discovered further along the road, however, make it necessary that the distance between Rome and Tibur should have been 20 miles, as the Antonine itinerary has it. There is, in the first place, the group found recently at the 36th mile, where the Via Sublacensis diverged from the Via Valeria, at a place about 16 miles from Tibur (*Not. Scav.* 1890, 160), and the 43rd milestone also exists *in situ* (*Supplementary Papers of the American School of Classical Studies in Rome*, i. 108–140). This fact, however, involves us in considerable difficulties, which will be dealt with below; and this is one reason why I have not attempted in the case of this road to indicate the probable positions of the milestones in the map.

It is, further, by no means certain by which gate the original Via Tiburtina left the city. The theory of Fabretti was, that it issued by the Porta Viminalis, and continued the line of the Vicus Collis Viminalis for some distance outside the gate (*De Aquis*, Diss. iii. tab. i., ii.), joining what he believed to be the later line of the road a little beyond the church of S. Lorenzo. This view is adopted by Revillas (*infra*, 199). Lanciani, on the other hand, supposes that the Via Tiburtina turned almost at right angles southwards immediately after leaving the Porta Viminalis, and, after being joined by a road from the Porta Esquilina (which he marks 'Via Praenestina [?],' following Fabretti) at the point where the Porta S. Lorenzo now stands, turned sharply to the N.E. again, taking the line followed by the modern road (*Mon. Linc.* i. 476; *Forma Urbis*, 17, 18).

Hülsen prefers the theory that the road from the Porta Esquilina just referred to is the original Via Tiburtina (Kiepert and Hülsen, *Forma Urbis Romae*, tab. i.), though the name 'Tiburtina Vetus' is not vouched for by any classical authority and is only retained for convenience (Jordan, *Topographie*, i. 3. 343). This seems to be the most probable supposition of the three, inasmuch as the arch erected by Augustus in 5 B.C. for the passage of the Aquae Marcia, Tepula and Iulia, bearing an inscription (*C.I.L.* vi. 1244) recording his restoration of them (which was incorporated in the outer half of the Porta Tiburtina of the Aurelian wall), points to the importance of the road which passed under it, while we find that the straight road from the Porta Viminalis passed through the Aurelian wall by a small postern, which was closed at some unknown period. We may notice, too, that the earliest tombs which flanked the 'Tiburtina Vetus' were found to date from the beginning of the Imperial period (Jordan, *op. cit.* 367, 368). Lanciani's theory succeeds in accounting for the importance of the Porta Viminalis, but involves two sharp turns within a comparatively short distance; while that of Fabretti, though the straightness of line which it gives is in its favour (*infra*, 87), seems hardly consistent with the comparatively small importance which his road seems to have possessed in imperial times. The postern by which it left the city after the erection of the Aurelian wall is situated immediately S. of the Praetorian Camp; its ancient name is unknown, and, for lack of a better appellation, it is generally called the Porta Chiusa,[1] having been blocked up at an uncertain date.

Along the first part of the course of the road various discoveries have been made, the most notable being that of the 'Tomba della Medusa,' excavated in the Vigna Lozano-Argoli in 1839, which lay on the N. of the road. It is a square chamber in opus quadratum of travertine and contained three fine sarcophagi (from one of which it takes its name) which

[1] A block of peperino, built into the later wall which follows the line of the S. wall of the Praetorian camp, and measuring 0·70 by 0·50 mètre, bears the following inscription:

IVNI VERI

Nibby and Gell (*Mura di Roma*, 336) give it thus:—

N . . . . . N . CEB
NVND . . . . . VER

are now in the Lateran (Helbig, *Führer*, i. p. 471, nos. 703–5 ; cf. also *Diss. dell' Accad. Pont.* x. 223 ; *Bull. Inst.* 1839, 1 ; Jordan, *op. cit.* 392). Two brickstamps were found in the tomb (*C.I.L.* xv. 1051, 10—after 132 A.D. ; 2031, 4—134 A.D.), which, if, as seems probable, they belong to the inner facing of the vaulting of the roof, give an approximate date to the building. It is surrounded by buildings of brickwork and opus reticulatum, which in the recent excavations for the construction of the new general hospital known as the Policlinico were found to have mosaic pavements and painted plaster on their walls. Other discoveries of tombs, etc., were made in the course of the work, but are mostly of minor importance (see *Not. Scav.* and *Bull. Com. passim*—since 1888, especially *Not. Scav.* 1889, 366, 403 ; 1896, 524 ; 1899, 130, 201 ; *Bull. Com.* 1899, 150). Nearly opposite to the tomb the *schola sodalium Serrensium* was found in 1864 (De Rossi, *Bull. Crist.* 1864, 57 ; *C.I.L.* vi. 839) ; and further to to the S.E., in the Vigna Rondanini, several waterpipes were found in the eighteenth century—*C.I.L.* xv. 7255, 7474 (this pipe bore the name of the well-known Frontinus, *curator aquarum* under Trajan), 7612, 7657, 7666—while remains of baths were brought to light in 1839 and 1847 (Lanciani, *Forma Urbis*, 11). Opposite to the Tomba della Medusa, the Vicolo dell' Osteria, which probably follows the line of an ancient road, diverges S. to the Porta Tiburtina : a branch from it to the E., perhaps following an ancient line (*infra*, 93), leads to the Vigna Querini, where some interesting ancient tufa quarries were discovered in 1872 (*Bull. Inst.* 1872, 68 ; *Bull. Com.* 1872, 6 ; 1888, 18 ; Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations*, 33).

Beyond the Policlinico the course of the road is not traceable, but if prolonged it would fall into the line of the modern highroad near the point where it is joined by the so-called Via Cupa (*infra*, 93), *i.e.* where it turns almost at right angles from N.N.E. to E. The fact that this change of direction brings it into the same straight line with the road from the Porta Viminalis is certainly an argument in favour of the claim of the latter to be regarded as the original Via Tiburtina. The question is, in fact, one of considerable difficulty, and with the evidence at our disposal it is difficult to arrive at a definite conclusion.

We may now return to the Porta Tiburtina, and follow the line taken by the modern road.

The Porta Tiburtina was made up of two parts—the outer portion was formed by the arch constructed by Augustus to carry the aqueduct of the

Marcia, Tepula and Iulia over the road, on the outside of which Honorius added another arch and two towers flanking it.[1] The inner arch was also constructed by Honorius; he restored the walls in 400 A.D. as the inscription (*C.I.L.* vi. 1190) records—'egestis immensis ruderibus': compare the identical inscriptions of the Porta Portese and the Porta Maggiore (*ibid.* 1188, 1189). The meaning of this phrase is, according to Lanciani (*Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*, 73), that 'Stilicho and Honorius found the walls almost buried under a mass of rubbish and refuse:[2] and as they had neither time nor means to clear the rubbish away, they levelled it on the spot, and raised at once the level of that strip of city land from 9 to 13 feet. The thresholds of the Portae Flaminia, Tiburtina, Praenestina and Ostiensis of Honorius are as much as this above those of the time of Aurelian.' The whole of the inner arch was removed by Pius IX. in 1869. The tower on the right hand of the gate has in its base some travertine blocks from a tomb, one of which bears the inscription *C.I.L.* vi. 23381. According to Nibby (*Viaggio*, i. 96; *Analisi*, iii. 639) the pavement of the road was discovered not far outside the gate in excavating for the foundations of a church, and below it two earlier pavements (cf. also Lanciani in *Mon. Linc.* i. 476).

Nibby remarks that, besides the discovery of the pavement, the existence of tombs on each side demonstrates that the modern road coincides with the ancient. Promis (*Alba Fucense*, 15) notes a slight deviation of the modern road to the left about 300 yards outside the gate, so that it cut through the remains of a piscina and some tombs, while paving-stones were to be seen high up on the right. The road then entered into a cutting through the tufa: here the modern road ran to the right of the ancient, which kept straight on through the vineyards, being rejoined by the modern after something less than a mile, a little before the Via Cupa is reached. This account is of considerable interest, since the construction of a new quarter has completely altered the appearance of the Via Tiburtina between the gate and S. Lorenzo, all traces of antiquity having entirely disappeared.

[1] Platner (*Topography of Ancient Rome*, 120) attributes the foundations of the towers to Aurelian.

[2] The roads apparently ran at the old level, while these huge heaps of rubbish accumulated on either side of them: when the rubbish was levelled down, the roads were correspondingly raised. Cf. *Mon. Linc.* i, 476, 'la via Tiburtina dei tempi di Augusto corre a tre metri sotto la soglia della porta di Onorio, ed è fiancheggiata da sepolcri costruiti a bugna di sperone, e da colombai di maniera reticolata.'

At some point before the first milestone was reached the tomb of Pallas, the freedman of Claudius, was situated (Plin. *Epist.* vii. 29, viii. 6).

Recent discoveries made between the gate and the church of S. Lorenzo are recorded in *Not. Scav.* and *Bull. Com. passim*; while for those of earlier periods, Vacca, *mem.* 108 (*infra*, 92); Aldroandi, *mem.* 26; Bartoli, *mem.* 136–138, *Antichi Sepolcri*, 99, may be consulted. In the excavations made when the tramway station was constructed in the Vigna Venturi, on the left just outside the gate, the columbarium of the Aurunceii was found, with many of the inscriptions still *in situ* (*C.I.L.* vi. 13402–13414); and 400 fragments of sculptures of peperino were brought to light when the wall of the vineyard, as material for which they had served, was demolished. The pavement of the road was also found *in situ*, with tombs on each side of it (*Not. Scav.* 1878, 346). A little further on, shortly before the modern cemetery is reached, a marble sarcophagus, with the original gilding and painting still preserved, was discovered (*ibid.* 1884, 42, 105).

The original basilica of S. Lorenzo was erected by Constantine, and enlarged and restored by Pelagius II. at the end of the sixth century. Sixtus III. built a larger basilica back to back with it, and the two were united by Honorius III., who also built the portico in front. The date of the foundation of the *castellum* at S. Lorenzo for the protection of the church seems to have been the end of the 12th century (*Bull. Crist.* 1903, 127), and not the 9th, as Lanciani, who reproduces a sketch of it by Heemskerck (*Ruins and Excavations*, 85), conjectures. Walls are shown round three sides of the church (not the E.) in the engraving of the Seven Churches, published by Lafreri for the Jubilee of 1575 (no. 13 in the collection which was once in the possession of Mr. Quaritch—see *Papers*, ii. 80), and traces of them were still visible in the time of Urban VIII.

The name 'Campo Verano,' by which the modern cemetery is usually known, is of classical origin, coming perhaps from the possessors of the ground in Roman times (Marucchi, *Catacombe romane* (1903), 300). In one of the crypts of the extensive catacomb of S. Cyriaca S. Lawrence was buried ('venientesque in praedium viduae Cyriacae via Tiburtina . . . illic deposuerunt eum in Cyriacae viduae praedio in agro Verano'), and a site for the Constantinian basilica was only obtained by cutting away the rock and thus destroying a portion of the catacomb, in order to bring the tomb

of the saint into its right position in the church—that is, in the centre of it, immediately in front of the apse (Marucchi, *op. cit.* 313). Many inscriptions from the catacomb have been found in the successive enlargements of the cemetery, and have been arranged on the spot.

Many other discoveries have been, and are still, made in the cemetery from time to time. In *Bull. Inst.* 1869, 227, a road is described as having been found at a depth of 3·40 mètres below the modern ground level, under the portico at the entrance to the cemetery, with a steep slope from N. to S., and diverging about 30° from the line of its smaller side.[1] Beneath it ran a cloaca, in which were found tiles bearing the stamps *C.I.L.* xv. 1234, 1346, and a stamp (not more particularly described) of the *figlinae Domitianae*, and into which drained the buildings on each side of the road. *Bull. Com.* 1872–3, 21 records the discovery of a statue of Hercules and a small shrine of Terra Mater. The waterpipe *C.I.L* xv. 7378 was also found here; another, *ibid.* 7461, is vaguely described as having been found outside the Porta S. Lorenzo.

An interesting inscription is that of Statilia Euhodia, found in what was once the Vigna Torlonia (now a part of the cemetery), among the remains of a columbarium (so a note in Stevenson, *Cod. Vat.* 10565, f. 36^{v}), which speaks of the tomb thus: 'hoc moni[men]tum sive sepulchrum quod est via Tiburtina clivo Bassilli parte laeva, quod est conclusum in fr(onte) a maceria Caes[i]ae Paulinae' (*Not. Scav.* 1890, 355; *Bull. Com.* 1890, 335; *C.I.L.* vi. 36364). Hülsen (*Röm. Mitt.* 1891, 112) infers that the clivus Bassilli was a road leading northwards from the Via Tiburtina, but this involves the acceptance of the theory (see below) that the road found in the Campo Verano was the Via Tiburtina: and it would seem that 'parte laeva' may just as well be referred to the clivus as to the main road.

In *Not. Scav.* 1877, 271 (cf. *Bull. Com.* 1878, 20) it is stated that the pavement of the Via Tiburtina was discovered on the hill in which the catacomb of S. Cyriaca is excavated, crossing the point known as Il Pincetto, which is just N.E. of the basilica, from the tomb of the Antonelli family to what was then the Vigna Caracciolo: and in *Not. Scav.* 1893, 519 the

[1] The description is vague—'larger side' would have been more correct, unless indeed the meaning is that the slope is across the axis of the road. But this is improbable, and it is most likely that this is a portion of the road from the Porta Maggiore to S. Lorenzo, the pavement of which was discovered in 1881 in a vineyard at a depth of 10 mètres below the present ground level, together with a tomb (*Bull. Com.* 1881, 203; *C.I.L.* vi. 22076). If this is so, the line of the road is not correctly given in *Papers*, i. map i.

existence of a piece of pavement is noted 'on the E. of the so-called "rupe Caracciolo," in plot no. 93 of the cemetery,' which would probably have belonged to the same road, though the details are too meagre to enable one to form an opinion, not even the exact direction in which the road was running being given. In any case, no decisive proof is adduced that the road was anything more than a *deverticulum*; and it may be noted that it is impossible to find any trace of an ancient road in the space to the E. of the cemetery, between it and the railway, or, indeed, of any ancient buildings—a somewhat surprising fact, since this piece of ground commands a fine view. To the S. of the cemetery, however, and a little to the E. of the Villa Rocco (*Papers*, i. map i.) there are scanty remains of a villa, which seems to have been a building of considerable extent.

In *Bull. Com.* 1896, 295, among the Atti della Commissione Archeologica Comunale, it is stated that a large archaeological plan of the first portion of the Via Tiburtina had been constructed under the direction of the late Henry Stevenson. The statement seems, however, to have been somewhat premature, for though the framework of the plan exists at the office of the Commission, no archaeological discoveries are shown upon it! This is a real misfortune, for the finds made in recent years have been many: and such a problem as the present might have been far easier of solution had we the whole of the evidence before us.

In Stevenson's MS. notes (*Vat. Lat.* 10565, f. 36^{v}) there are copies of one or two inscriptions from the first portion of the Via Tiburtina which have not yet been published. I therefore give them here.

1. 9 Oct. 1878. Vigna Venturi, 20 mètres from the entrance to the E. A Christian inscription on white marble.

31 cm.

20 cm.

(Here was also found the waterpipe *C.I.L.* xv. 7436.)

Stevenson gives another fragment (in Latin) of which little can be made out.

2. 'Campo Verano presso l'antico magazzino sul Pincetto.'

D
SEX·CALPVRNIO
GEMELLO
ecc

non è in *C.I.L.*

3. A fragment of a terracotta vase (perhaps an olla) with letters painted on it in white

SVM IVS
XXX

found by Stevenson himself in April, 1891, on the hill then under conversion into a part of the cemetery between the Casale and Portonaccio. He conjectures that the meaning may be [ego] sum Ius[ti], the number of years following in the second line.

4. On f. 37 he gives the following Christian inscription:

VPERORVM DEFENSO
OMES SVOS DECEP
D IN PACE DXI KALIVLI
IVS REERICERET.

5. On f. 37^{v} he notes the following inscription from some MS. the reference to which is not clear:

SEPTIMIVS RVFVS
MAGISTER · SYMMAE

'Romae e ruderibus erutis in vinea quae est sita supra Coemeterium secus viam Tiburtinam paulo infra basilicam S. Laurentii.'

We may also notice that Vacca (mem. 108) records the discovery at a casale called La Marmorata, outside Porta S. Lorenzo, of a travertine sarcophagus with a vase of alabastro cotognino inside it, within which were the ashes of a woman and some of her ornaments. It was, he says, not far from the place (on the Via Praenestina, outside Porta S. Lorenzo) where he puts the discovery of the forged inscription *C.I.L.* vi. 3443a*. Stern (*Collezione di pavimenti classici a musaico*, 22) figures a pavement from the Villa Brancadoro, outside the Porta S. Lorenzo, which is now in the Gabinetto di pitture antiche at the Vatican.

A further argument against the view that the Via Tiburtina passed through the Campo Verano is the fact that, on the left of the modern highroad, under the Vigna Gori, opposite to the Campo Verano, is the catacomb of S. Hippolytus, which, had it not been divided from that of S. Cyriaca by the Via Tiburtina, would not have had a name of its own (De Rossi, *Bull. Crist.* 1882, 11 *sqq.*). The Einsiedeln itinerary, indeed, puts it clearly: 'In via Tiburtina foris murum. In sinistra s(an)c(t)i ypoliti [*sic*]. In dextera s(an)c(t)i Laurentii' (*Mon. Linc.* i. 441). The statue of the saint (now in the Lateran) which was found here is important as being a genuine production of Christian art of the 3rd century after Christ (Marucchi, *op. cit.* 320). The casale is built upon the oratory of S. Genesius (*Bull. Crist.* 1882, 52; Marucchi, *Catacombe*, 339), the major axis of which is parallel to the line of the highroad. It is marked C on map i. Traces of buildings similarly orientated are to be seen to the S. of it.

If, indeed, Promis' account (*supra*, 88) is correct, the ancient road ran slightly to the N.W. of the modern, though no traces of it can now be seen. In any case, the cutting on the N.W. side of the latter, opposite to S. Lorenzo, has been widened in recent times, as some opus reticulatum and a drain cut in the rock may still be seen in the bank, and there are fragments of brick in the vineyard above.

Not far off, in the time of Clement XI., in a vineyard which had belonged to the Piccolomini, but was at the time the property of the Colonnese family of Velletri, a tomb with a sepulchral chamber in travertine was discovered, and in it a fine vase of porphyry about 3 palms (2 feet) in height, containing human bones, and a gold ring with a sardonyx set in it, upon which was carved the figure of a Chimaera. The urn passed to the Villa Albani (Ficoroni, *Gemmae antiquae*, 116) and is now in the Museo Pio-Clementino.

The branch lane going E. from the Vicolo dell' Osteria would, if prolonged, join the Via Tiburtina close to S. Lorenzo; but whether it follows the line of an ancient road is not certain. On its S. edge is a wall of opus reticulatum and concrete. A little way further on a lane diverges to the N. which Gori (*op. cit.* 73) calls the Vicolo delle Mattonelle; no traces of antiquity are visible along it.

Beyond this again the lane called Via Cupa comes into the highroad—at about the point where the road from the Porta Chiusa, if prolonged, would fall into its line (*supra*, 87). This lane appears to follow an

ancient line; the cutting made for it N.E. of the Policlinico is of considerable depth, and paving-stones have recently been seen in it (Promis, *op. cit.* 17; Gori, *loc. cit.*—who says that remains of several ancient villas are to be seen along it, a statement which I have not been able to confirm—Lanciani, *Forma Urbis*, 4, 11). A columbarium found at the point where it enters the Via Tiburtina, but not properly excavated, is mentioned by Lanciani (*Bull. Com.* 1885, 108; cf. *C.I.L.* vi. 33774, 33794). Those buried in it belonged to the household of the younger Antonia, the wife of Drusus, brother of Tiberius. The 'Vigna Nardi, in the tenuta di Tor Sanguigna,' which is near the Vigna Gori-Fortunati along the Via Cupa, was the scene of excavations in June, 1862. Here was found the sepulchral inscription Kaibel, *I.G.I.* 2134, and also the brickstamp *C.I.L.* xv. 603a (about 140 A.D.). In the Vigna Savini, on the right, apparently, along the Via Cupa, a marble vase full of gold coins was found in 1682 (Bartoli, *mem.* 99, in Fea, *Misc.* i. 250).

A little further on, the highroad crosses the railway to Florence. The construction of the bridge led to the discovery of a series of underground passages intended for use as cisterns, with vertical shafts 1·03 mètre in diameter, and converted into a place of burial in the first century B.C. In them were found five white clay pots, used for incineration, three of which had the name of the deceased painted on them. See *Not. Scav.* 1883, 171; 1890, 135; *Bull. Com.* 1884, 54. A similar series of pots was found in 1732–3 near the church of S. Cesareo on the Via Appia (*C.I.L.* vi. p. 1103), but in that instance the name of the deceased was inscribed upon a piece of bone placed inside the pot with the ashes.

The discovery of tombs *a capanna*, in which the tiles bore the stamps *C.I.L.* xv. 408b, 730, proved that the use of these cisterns as places of burial continued till the 3rd century A.D. Other tombs of an ordinary character are described in *Not. Scav.* 1883, 131.

Not far off, several fragmentary statues belonging probably to the 3rd century A.D. were discovered (*id.* 1885, 159), while in the construction of the station itself some remains of walls in opus reticulatum were found, and also some tombs *a capanna* formed of tiles bearing the stamps *C.I.L.* xv. 904, e, f, which belong to the time of Trajan (*id.* 1889, 367; 1890, 15).

The name Portonaccio ('ruined gateway') belongs to the entrance gate into the farm on the S. of the road (which now belongs to Prince Torlonia) and has been extended to the farm itself.

The casale must occupy the site of a Roman villa: an embanking wall to the S.W. of it contains some ancient construction of rectangular blocks of tufa measuring 25 × 9 cm., with courses of inferior mortar 1·25 to 1·5 cm. thick. To the S.S.E. of the casale is a reservoir—a single chamber measuring about 17·6 × 3·9 mètres inside, with opus reticulatum and brick facing: it stands high, having a vaulted chamber beneath it, which seems to have served merely as a foundation.

On the top of the hill, to the E., quarrying operations have brought to light—and in large measure destroyed—the remains of a large villa with walls of opus reticulatum. At its eastern extremity stands a circular structure, apparently a tomb, with a domed concrete roof. The interior, 6·2 mètres in diameter, is lighted by four slit windows and faced with brickwork: the entrance was apparently on the N. side, where there is an opening about 1·8 m. in width, but the earth within is up to the level of the spring of its arch: on the three other sides are rectangular niches, 0·9 m. in width. The building has double walls, the inner being 0·9 m. thick, the outer, faced with opus reticulatum, and supported by eight buttresses about 0·6 m. in width, 0·7 m. thick: the interval between the two walls is 0·48 m. It cannot have served for drainage, both owing to its position well above the original floor level, and to the fact that it is interrupted by some of the buttresses, and must have been merely for dryness. The drum of a tufa column 0·5 m. in diameter, which lies here, belongs probably to the villa, and not to this tomb, in which there is, so far as can be seen, no place for it.

Further to the N.E., and not very far from the highroad, are the remains of an extensive villa in opus reticulatum with tufa quoins, much damaged by quarrying operations: two black and white mosaic pavements are still *in situ*, though not cleared.

To the S.E. again, to the E. of Casale Bruciato, there is much débris, which looks like that of a modern building constructed of ancient materials. The site, overlooking the valley of the Fosso Gottifredi, is a fine one. The hill is full of pozzolana quarries, and a circular shaft with footholes, to the S.W. of Casale Bruciato, and possibly of Roman date, is probably connected with them, so that parts of them may be ancient.

The construction of the fort on the right of the road, some 500 yards to the N.N.E., led to the discovery of a large and splendid villa, belonging to the first century A.D. A part of it, lying to the S. of the fort itself, was

excavated, and was found to be built in opus reticulatum without the admixture of brickwork: here was discovered the bottom of a glass bottle bearing the mark *C.I.L.* xv. 6987. Recently trees have been planted here, and these remains have come to light once more in the holes that have been dug for them: a small portion of an arched chamber still remains above ground.

The drainage of the villa was extremely well arranged, all the rainwater being carefully collected and conveyed by shafts into a network of passages cut in the rock and lined with cement. At the bottom of one of these shafts a statue of Apollo was found, while in the villa itself a male draped figure, of the type of an Aesculapius, was discovered (*Not. Scav.* 1884, 43, 81, 106).

The tract of country bounded by the highroad on the S., the railway on the W., and the Anio on the N. and E., forms the Tenuta di Pietralata, and contains extensive tufa quarries, some of which may be ancient, as remains of antiquity are extremely scanty, though the site is fine. Opposite the S. end of the railway station at Portonaccio, in a cutting made in connexion with it, are traces of a villa, and remains of foundations may be seen in the same cutting opposite the N. end of the station (*supra*, 94).

About a kilomètre further to the N., on a hill above the railway, is a small water reservoir, but no trace of any building to which it could have belonged. This ruin lies about a mile due W. of the Casale Pietralata, which appears to occupy an ancient site, as there are at it two Composite capitals of white marble 33 cm. in diameter, a drum of a peperino column 59 cm. in diameter, and other fragments. On the S. side of the casale there are remains of a late concrete floor, and to the S.W. the ruins of a building in tufa concrete of the late classical or early mediaeval period, in which it would seem that reticulatum cubes have been used as material. By the farm road are the remains of a small water reservoir. The construction of the fort, a little way to the N., led only to the discovery of a rectangular well shaft, 3·50 mètres in depth (*Not. Scav.* 1883, 172).

Half a mile beyond the railway bridge, close to the point where the Aqua Virgo passes under the highroad, a road goes off to the S. into some quarries, which may possibly have been an ancient deverticulum, as there are remains of a tomb in opus reticulatum close by. There are, however, no traces of it further to the S., and the tomb is not perhaps too far

off to belong to the main road. For the next mile and a half, visible traces of antiquity are wanting, but the line of the ancient road cannot have differed much from that taken by the modern. In 1880 its pavement was discovered between the 3rd and 4th kilomètre at the entrance to the fort, 35 mètres to the right of the modern road (*Not. Scav.* 1880, 479). Revillas notes 'verso il 3° miglio (moderno) osteria fabbricata sopra le ruine d'antico sepolcro.' Near the 4th milestone stood the Villa of Regulus the advocate mentioned by Martial, *Epig.* i. 12 (cf. i. 82), 'Itur ad Herculeas gelidi qua Tiburis arces canaque sulphureis Albula fumat aquis, rura nemusque sacrum dilectaque iugera Musis signat vicina quartus ab urbe lapis.' Some authors have taken 'urbs' to refer to Tibur, but this is unlikely: the second line is a description of the Via Tiburtina, and must not be pressed too closely. The remains of a reservoir on the left which Promis (*op. cit.* 19) attributes to it have very likely disappeared: in any case I have not seen them.

Just before the 5th kilomètre stone the modern road diverges to the left of the ancient, and crosses the Anio by a new bridge, returning to the ancient line after about a mile. The ancient road, now abandoned, runs straight to the Anio, which it crosses by the old Ponte Mammolo.[1] The origin of the name is doubtful: in a document of 1030 A.D. it appears as Pons Mammi, in another of 1100 as Pons Mammaeus (Nibby, *Analisi*, ii. 578). It is generally supposed to have had originally three arches, one large and two small, though Promis (*op. cit.* 20) believes that it had two of equal size: it was built of blocks of tufa and travertine, the latter being employed for the facing: and it was, probably, like the Ponte Nomentano and the Ponte Salario, restored by Narses after its destruction by Totila (Nibby, *loc. cit.*).

It has, however, been rebuilt in modern times. The French official report of the damage caused in the siege of 1849 to those buildings of Rome which had any artistic or archaeological interest (*Rapport de la Commission Mixte instituée à Rome pour constater les dégâts*, 42, issued by the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs—Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1850) gives the following account:—'Ce pont se trouve à 9 (*sic*) milles de Rome et sur la voie Tiburtine. Il est célèbre dans l'histoire par le traité qui y fut signé entre le pape Pascal II. et l'empereur Henri IV.;

[1] On its S.E. edge, not far before the bridge is reached, is the rectangular concrete foundation of a tomb with one block of travertine still *in situ*.

la rivière servit à séparer les deux armées. Les Français furent constraints à rompre la seule arche antique dont ce pont est composé. L'ouverture présente une longueur de 16 m. sur une largeur de 4 m. 50 (the total width of the bridge, which Promis, *loc. cit.*, gives at 4·85 m.), et une profondeur totale de 1 m. 45 y compris l'épaisseur du pavé. Cette opération a causé le déplacement et la disjonction de cinque pierres en travertin, au cintre de l'arche du côté où l'eau sort du pont: c'est pourquoi la restauration doit être prompte, afin que le reste du pont ne vienne pas à s'écrouler. Le dommage est évalué 4,000 écus.' Only one of the side arches now exists—that on the right bank: it is of brickwork of a late period. The bridge is a remarkably narrow one, being, as we have seen, only 4·50 mètres wide. This is the normal width of a Roman highroad,[1] but the bridges are as a rule somewhat wider, and Promis, noting that the bridges of the Via Valeria beyond Tivoli are 7·25 mètres wide, attributes it to an early period. Among the blocks of travertine employed by Narses, on the side looking up-stream were two bearing fragments of inscriptions probably from tombs: one bore the letters [L]ENTVL, the other the letters ON.[2]

Nibby (*Analisi*, i. 457) mentions the existence of traces of an ancient bridge over a stream which he calls the Marrana, near its junction with the Anio, pointing to the existence of a deverticulum intended to give access to the quarries and connecting the Via Tiburtina with the Via Collatina, which, according to him, was also prolonged to the Via Praenestina, passing near Tor Sapienza. Close to it were other remains in reticulatum.

Traces of a bridge are in fact to be seen close to the point where the Fosso Gottifredi and the Fosso Bocca di Leone join and fall into the Anio. These remains consist of a line of three courses of tufa blocks about 15 mètres in length, adjacent to which is a mass of concrete 3·10 mètres thick, and beyond that again, projecting into the stream, another line of blocks of tufa: 30 yards further up are similar remains, probably belonging to the supporting wall of the road, which must have skirted the left bank of the Anio, and have joined the Via Tiburtina slightly further W., and just before it passes over the Ponte Mammolo.

[1] Uggeri, *Giornata a Tivoli*, 15, says that he found the width of the road at various points further on to be only 12 feet, and that it was the narrowest Roman highroad that he knew. Cf. also *infra*, 101, 114, and, for a much greater width, 120, 124, 126.

[2] Uggeri, *Vues des Environs de Rome*, vol. xviii. (Tivoli), Pl. IV, gives a view of the bridge, showing the position of these blocks.

Upon the left bank of the Anio, about 25 yards below the bridge, are three courses of blocks of tufa, forming a foundation of some sort, the nature of which is uncertain. Shortly after crossing it the Via Tiburtina turns from N.N.E. to N. by W. (at the turn are the remains of a tomb) and then to N.N.E. again. The inscription published in *Bull. Com.* 1878, 235 n., is built into a wall on the W. of the road ; it does not seem to have found its way into *C.I.L.* vi.

At the second turn a deverticulum diverges almost due N. Two or three tombs belonging to it are visible before it crosses the modern road, and also on both sides of the cutting of the latter. To the N. of this many more of its tombs and the line of the road itself may be clearly seen. Excavations were made in 1878, and are described by Stevenson in *Bull. Com.* 1878, 215 *sqq.* Most of the inscriptions found belonged to the end of the Republican period. Fabretti (*De Aquis*, Diss. iii. tab. i.) marks the road running on past the Casale S. Basilio until it falls into the Via Nomentana. Whether it passed W. or E. of the Ruderi del Coazzo is uncertain : in the first case it would join the Via Nomentana at the point where the so-called Strada Vecchia di Palombara leaves it ; in the second it would fall into the latter road after the divergence. The former seems more probable, as it appears to have kept just W. of the Casale S. Basilio, which is in part built upon an ancient reservoir : the villa which it supplied lay to the E.[1] To the W. of this road runs a track, keeping parallel to it at first, but soon diverging due W. : it is merely a modern quarry road. In these quarries, in 1888, the fossil remains of very large animals were found (*Not. Scav.* 1888, 392).

The road described by Stevenson has recently been destroyed by

[1] Excavations made at S. Basilio by Castellani (apparently on behalf of Antonio d'Este, director of the Vatican Museum—cf. *Mon. Sabini*, i. 225) in 1811 are described by Guattani (*Mem. encicl.* vii. 83). A building of *opus reticulatum*, decorated with paintings, and later on converted into a tomb, was found : in it was a large sarcophagus, 13 palms long, 6 high, 6 wide (the measurements are given as $15 \times 11 \times 7\frac{1}{2}$ in *Mon. Sabini, loc. cit.*) (a palm is 0·2223 mètre), very roughly worked, within which were two bodies dressed in cloth of gold, of which Nibby (*Analisi*, i. 288) says that the costume was thought to belong to the 6th century A.D. A marble cornice was found with the names P·CORNELIVS and IVLIA CORNELIA and fragments of other inscriptions bore the name of the same *gens*—among them possibly, as Tomassetti conjectures (*op. cit.* 38, n. 1), *C.I.L.* vi. 16111.

Some way to the E. of the Casale S. Basilio is the Casale Monastero, at which is a rectangular building in inferior brickwork : the interior, with a large niche on each side and an apse at the end, measures about 8 by 7 mètres : the ceiling has quadripartite vaulting. A marble door-jamb and a fragment of the cornice over the door are still *in situ*. Foundations of other buildings may be seen close by. To the S.W. are the remains of a villa.

a quarry railway for some portion of its course. About 150 yards along the cutting on its W. side an arch is seen with a span of 1·23 mètre, no doubt a small culvert under the road, with which it is not quite at right angles. The section of the road itself is also clearly seen ; the bottom layer of large chips of selce is about 25 cm. thick, and then comes a gravel layer of about 30 cm. which seems to have formed its surface (*op. cit.* 216).

Traces of the two different lines of the road as made out by Stevenson can be seen at the N. end of the cutting. A little further on, to the W. of the road, the quarry railway has cut through the remains of a fine villa, originally constructed in neat *opus reticulatum* with tufa quoins, but restored in rougher work. Below it are passages about 3 feet wide and 6 high cut in the tufa and lined with cement, which, as was frequently the case, were used as water cisterns. A dolium found here bore the stamp

C·VIDIVS
FELIX·FE

and on the edge was scratched in letters 6 cm. high

CNIINIANI (Cn(aei)(A)eliani?).

Several paving-stones which were found about the ruins probably belonged to a *deverticulum* leading to the villa from the road we have just described. On the E. side of this road are remains of vaulted structures in *opus reticulatum* and mounds which seem to conceal other ruins.

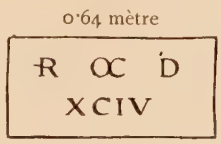
In one of these tufa quarries, but within the limits of the Tenuta di Aguzzano (*supra*, 53), two sepulchral inscriptions were discovered in 1904 ; one is the tombstone of M. Aurelius Asclepiades and Aurelia Salva and a large number of their freedmen and freedwomen, the other is that of M. Gavius Amphio Mus, a freedman of M. Gavius Maximus, identified by Gatti with a praefectus praetorio of that name under Antoninus Pius, who held office for 20 years (*Prosop. Imp. Rom.* ii. p. 112). Both inscriptions are given in *Not. Scav.* 1904, 106, the second only in *Bull. Com.* 1904, 201.

The Via Tiburtina may return to the modern road shortly after Ponte Mammolo, though its exact course is somewhat uncertain. A road appears running due E. in a quarry just to the N. of the 7th kilomètre of the modern highroad ;[1] but, as the pavement is about 1 mètre below the present level

[1] A sepulchral inscription discovered 'in a vineyard near the 7th kilomètre' is published in *Bull. Com.* 1899, 262.

of the soil, it is not traceable further in either direction without the aid of excavation. The width is 3·5 mètres (12 feet), which is below the average for the main road (the identification would, besides, involve an apparently useless turn); and the section of its bed is complete. Under the paving-stones of selce comes a layer of gravel 0·35 mètre thick, then blocks of tufa for about 0·8 mètre, then another layer of gravel 0·35 mètre thick. On each side of the road itself is a crepido of large tufa blocks, 58 to 60 cm. wide, and beyond this again a footpath, paved with blocks of tufa resting on gravel, 3·40 mètres wide on the N. and 2·25 mètres on the S. side. Beyond the road there is a tomb on the W. side of the quarry, still retaining part of the facing of cement in the interior, and on the E. side a water reservoir and other buildings in opus reticulatum, all of which are parallel to the line of the road. A little to the N.W. is a puteus cut in the rock, and provided with footholes. Some of these remains must have been visible in the time of Nibby, as he (*Schede*, iv. 10) notes the remains of a tomb between the 7th and 8th kilomètres of the modern road. Revillas, too, mentions a tomb on the left at the 5th mile, and so does Promis (*op. cit.* 24) at $5\frac{1}{4}$ miles out. On the S. of the road are extensive remains of a villa in opus reticulatum with tufa quoins.

In the field to the E. of the quarry I saw a block of white marble lying loose, bearing the following inscription—certainly a quarry mark:



Cf. Bruzza, *Ann. Inst.* 1870, 110, for similar marks. If ROC may be interpreted as R(ationis) LOC(O), then we have 'rationis[1] loco DXCIV.' The number would refer to the number of blocks already taken from the locus or compartment of the mine.

It may be interesting to quote Revillas' remarks on this portion of the road.

'Hinc (from just beyond S. Lorenzo) absque ulla notabili obliquitate vetus recensque via simul contendunt ad Anienis usque pontem, quem Mammulum vocant .... Ultra pontem nonnihil sinistrorsum declinat via

[1] Hirschfeld (*op. cit. supra*, 66 n., p. 163, note 4) rejects Bruzza's interpretation, R(ationis), preferring R(ecognitum) as suggested by Dressel, who compares a similar mark on amphorae (*C.I.L.* xv. p. 562, i.).

Praedii muris obsecundans quod La Vanina[1] appellant. Murus porro antiquis parietinis alicubi superstructus videtur, sed sepulcrorumne an alterius aedificii rudera haec sint, facile non est decernere. Vetus porro via magis adhuc sinistrorsum declinabat, et antiquum viatrium paullo ultra emittebat in Nomentanam, ut arbitror, tendens. Recens vero recta tendens veteri iterum iungebatur ad alium pariter antiquum pontem sub quo rivus qui *Magugliani*[2] dicitur ad proximum Anienem properat. Distat autem hic pons duo circiter Milliaria a praecedenti quem Mammulum appellavimus.

'Fabrettus in Tabula Topographica libro de Aquaeductibus iuncta[3] veterem viam non nisi prope VIII ab urbe lapide recenti coniunxit. At in emendatiore altera quam in Apologemate contra Gronovium edidit,[4] mox memorati pontis antiquitatem fortasse animadvertens, utramque viam [the rest is lost].'

It will be seen that Revillas has detected a great deal of the truth, though it is difficult to suppose that the ancient road did not fall into the line taken by the modern until the bridge over the Fosso di Pratolungo: one would rather be inclined to think that they coincide from a point a little to the E. of the 7th kilomètre.[5] Fabretti's original view is still further removed from the truth; while in his later map the sharp bend up to Torre Vergata seems incorrect, though if the calculation given below (p. 109, n.) represents Revillas' final idea, it would seem that he held the same view, which is also to be found in Ameti's map. Torre Vergata is probably a tower just S. of the Casale di Pratolungo, but on the left bank of the Fosso di Pratolungo, of which only the foundations remain. The name 'vergata' means striped, *i.e.* it must have been constructed in bands of differently coloured materials. There seems to be no basis for the supposition that the road ever ascended through the dip just to the S. of this

[1] This is the casale on the W. edge of the ancient road, between it and the river.

[2] Elsewhere in his papers Revillas notes at the 6th mile of the modern road, 'Ponte antico sotto l'osteria detta la Casetta de' Cavallari posta a mano diritta. Vedonsi dalla stessa parte in lontananza i rottami d'antico luogo' (the reference is perhaps to some mediaeval ruins N. of the 8th kilomètre of the modern road).

[3] Diss. iii. Tab. i.

[4] Cf. the map of the *Dorsum Praenestinum et Tusculanum* added to the 2nd edition (*opp.* p. 90).

[5] Cf. Eschinardi (ed Venuti, 1750), *Descrizione di Roma e dell' Agro Romano*, 235: 'La strada fin qua (Settecamini) è tortuosa, e arenosa, il che non credo fosse dell' antica Via Tiburtina, vedendosi a luogo a luogo vestigi dell' antica via selciata.' He does not however tell us on which side of the modern road, nor at what points, these fragments of pavement were to be seen.

tower.[1] As to the ancient bridge referred to, the bridge which carries the modern road over the Fosso di Pratolungo (called also Fosso di Marco Simone) is entirely modern, and that this is the stream meant is clear from Fabretti's map. The smaller stream to the W. of it has immediately on the S. of the modern bridge a small culvert of inferior construction, which Revillas would hardly have taken for Roman work.

Just beyond the Casale dei Cavallari, the ancient road ran slightly to the S. of the modern, following the line of the fieldwall: indeed in March, 1905, I saw many of its paving-stones which had recently been removed. To the E. of the 9th kilomètre the cutting made for the road is noticeable. To the N. of the road on the hill a tomb was discovered in 1656, formed of tiles, with a dedicatory inscription (obviously removed from elsewhere) to Sanctus Silvanus—according to a document in the Chigi Library, *Cod.* I. vi. 205 f. 148 (quoted by Fea, *Miscellanea*, i. 110).

Half a mile further, on the left of the road, are the remains of an extensive villa; part of a water reservoir, cut in the rock and lined with cement, is still preserved, but the rest has been quarried away.[2] At this point the modern road still coincides with the ancient. A little further on, the Osteria dei Settecamini is reached. Here Revillas notes, 'Osteria del Forno (a name which it also bears), rottami di marmi, segni d'antichi sepolcri.'[3] He also notes the tombs described in the text between this point and Tavernucole.

To the S. of the road are extensive tufa quarries, which must to a considerable extent be of ancient origin, like those on the S. bank of the Anio (cf. *Papers*, i. 141).

The Torre S. Eusebio has at its base a number of slabs of travertine, some 'rusticated,' some not, which come from a Roman building—perhaps a tomb—but are not *in situ*. A garden wall close to it contains a considerable number of blocks of tufa 62 cm. high, possibly taken from the same building.

[1] There are, however, indications of paving in the bank of the stream, belonging to a road ascending to the N.E. of the tower, which must have joined the Via Tiburtina at the 10th kilomètre.

[2] On the higher ground to the W. and N. are the remains of other buildings.

[3] The inscriptions *C.I.L.* vi. 1933, 13143 were copied here in the 18th century.

II.—FROM SETTECAMINI TO PONTE LUCANO.

At Settecamini a road known as the Strada Vecchia di Montecelio diverges to the left, running in a north-easterly direction, which it will be more convenient to describe at once. The cuttings by which it is taken through the hills are an almost sufficient indication of its antiquity, which is demonstrated by the existence of the paving *in situ* at a point rather over two miles from Settecamini. For some miles the only remains of antiquity[1] to be seen are several water reservoirs, some of them of considerable size, proving that water was somewhat scarce in the district. The first three of these lie close to the road, at intervals of nearly a mile, the second of them—in the Riserva dei Pisciarelli—is a very large one, divided into several chambers. Near the fountain half a mile to the W., Nibby (*Analisi*, ii. 307) noticed in 1830 an inscribed cippus erected in honour of Ser. Calpurnius Dexter, consul ordinarius in 225 A.D. This and two other sepulchral inscriptions found at the same point were published in *Bull. Inst.* 1833, 64 by Borghesi and Kellermann (*C.I.L.* vi. 1368, 1485, 1486).[2] Two more reservoirs are in the neighbourhood of the Laghetto di Marco Simone, a basin—probably of volcanic origin—about 300 yards in diameter and 63 feet in depth, which is drained by an emissarium of uncertain (but quite possibly of Roman) date, cut through the rock on the N. side, and provided with ventilating shafts the sides of which are walled right down with mediaeval or modern masonry.

Half a mile N.E. of the Laghetto, and close to the road, upon a hill called the Monte dell' Incastro, there is an extremely well preserved nymphaeum, constructed entirely below ground, and so completely hidden that our attention was only directed to it by some bushes growing round the window by which we entered it. The interior is circular, six mètres in diameter and constructed of very good brickwork, probably of the latter half of the second century, with finely baked bricks and very thin courses of mortar, so that it was obviously intended to be exposed to

[1] To the N. in the Riserva dello Spavento are the remains o a water reservoir and of other buildings, and to the N. of it again a building with two square niches on each side and one at the E. end, the arches of which have large impost blocks of travertine. There are some blocks which look like paving-stones in a bridge on the path which runs N. to Marco Simone, not far from these ruins : but I have no certain proof that it follows the line of an ancient road.

[2] They are republished in *C.I.L.* xiv. 3993–5.

view. A brick cornice runs round the interior, and above this the domed roof, three mètres in height from the cornice, begins. This roof is decorated with plain white mosaic which is almost perfect: in the centre is a hole 0·9 mètre in diameter which gives light and air.

The window by which we entered is on the S.W. and begins just above the cornice; it is round-headed, and about 1·5 mètre high by 1·2 mètre wide: at the top of the arch is white mosaic like that of the dome, but the badness of the brickwork shows that the window is a later addition. Below the cornice on each side of the window is an arched semicircular niche, 1·7 mètre wide and 0·95 mètre deep, decorated with mosaic representing tendrils intertwined in blue and green on a white ground. The arch of each niche is constructed with ornamental bricks 0·43 mètre in length. Between the niches and the window marble corbels (now removed) were fixed in the brickwork. On the N.E. side, opposite the window, a large hole has been broken through the wall, which is 1·46 mètre in thickness, and not faced on the outside, showing that the building was underground when constructed. The lower part of the interior is full of débris up to 4 mètres below the cornice, and it is impossible, without clearing away the earth, to say what is the level of the floor, or where the entrance is. It is to be hoped that the building may one day be excavated, as it is well worth exploration.

To the N.E. of this nymphaeum are the ruins in brickwork of a large mediaeval building—a church or a *domusculta*. To the N.W. of the nymphaeum, at the trigonometrical point 119, are the remains of a considerable building, apparently of the Roman period: fragments of dolia and bricks lie scattered about, but there are no traces of marble, so that the site is probably that of a farmhouse. To the E., close to the N. side of the road, is the Torraccio dell' Inviolata,[1] which is built upon a tomb constructed of opus reticulatum and brickwork. The internal chamber is in the form of a Greek cross, entered from the S. side. The tomb was surrounded by an enclosing wall of opus reticulatum and brickwork, in which were curved niches, as may be seen on the E. side.

A kilomètre further on, the road we are now following divides into two, and both branches appear to be ancient. One goes straight on for

[1] The name Inviolata is a corruption of In Via Lata, the tenuta having been the property of the church of S. Maria in Via Lata (Nibby, *Analisi*, ii. 157).

about a mile, then bears rather more to the N., and falls into the road from the Lago dei Tartari to Montecelio not far S.W. of the railway station of Montecelio.[1] From this point it probably led to the E., round the foot of the hill on which Montecelio stands, as well as to Montecelio itself (*infra*, 179). The other turns almost due N. at once, then goes N.E. through a cutting in the rock, and turns a trifle more to the N. again as it passes below the casale of Torre Mastorta.

There are no traces of other than mediaeval work at the casale, but a little way to the N.N.E. are the remains of a villa, while to the N. are two water reservoirs, the nearer a small single-chambered one above ground, now converted into a stable, the further a large single chamber sunk to some depth in the hill, with traces of a villa on the hilltop above it. Half a mile to the N. of the western one are insignificant remains upon the edge of a stream (the Fosso del Capo), to the W. of which, on the top of a hill, in the Tenuta del Pilo Rotto, may be seen some ruins, which were probably the scene of excavations made in 1822, when mosaic pavements in black and white, representing Tritons and Nereids, were discovered (Nibby, *Analisi*, ii. 366).

The excavations are more exactly described by P. E. Visconti (*Memorie Romane di Antichità e di Belle Arti*, i. pt. 2, 10), who tells us that two pavements were discovered, the first of which, 18 palms by 11 (4 by 2·45 mètres), had only a geometrical pattern—a black meander on a white ground—and was not taken up, while the other, which had a Triton and various marine monsters round him in black on a white ground (with an additional rectangular piece where the threshold was, representing two lampreys ('remore') with an arrow between them), was removed to a room near the sacristy of S. Maria in Via Lata, to which the ground belonged. Its size is not given, and what has become of it I do not know. Coppi no doubt refers to the same excavations when he states (*Diss. Accad. Pont.* v. 212) that 'a few years before 1833' some rough

[1] The travertine quarries at this point are in the main modern: the remains of a villa in opus reticulatum with a portion of a water reservoir may be seen in and above them. The reservoir has one gallery perfectly preserved, with the wall dividing it from the next, but whether it had more than two chambers is uncertain. There are four arches in the dividing wall (which is 77 cm. thick), the two central ones measuring 1·23 mètre in height with a span of 1·52 mètre, while the two side ones are 99 cm. high with a span of 1·15 mètre: the chamber which is preserved measures 8·40 by 2·89 mètres, and 2·55 in height to the top of the vaulted roof.

A large mass of fallen concrete in the quarry may or may not belong to this reservoir. A travertine column drum 66 cm. in diameter may be noted in the field above.

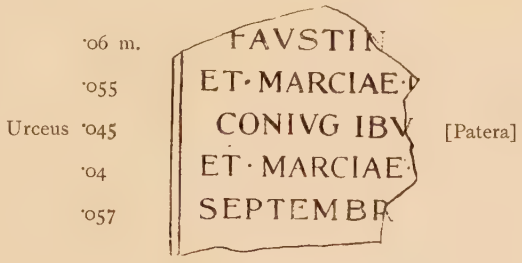
mosaics were found, which were still preserved near S. Maria in Via Lata.

The remains now visible are scanty, but include a fragment of substructure with some extremely good brick facing; the bricks averaging 4 cm. in thickness and the mortar between them 1 cm. only. A slightly thinner brick (just over 3 cm. thick) which I found there bore the stamp

CTOR · HIC · AN

which appears to be unpublished.

The name of the tenuta, 'pilo rotto,' means 'broken cippus' (cf. Anon. Hisp. Chisianus cited *ad C.I.L.* vi. 15030, 'in pilla marmorea cipo antiquo ubi est aqua benedicta in S. Andrea in Nazareno'), and though the name is an old one, inasmuch as it first appears in a Bull of Calixtus II. of 1124 (Nibby, *Analisi*, ii. 365), it is a curious coincidence (if nothing more) that a 'broken cippus' which justifies the name is still lying among these ruins. It bears the inscription—hitherto, as far as I know, unpublished:



The material is white marble, and the lettering seems to belong to the second century after Christ. The fragment measures 42 by 51 cm. and the cippus was about 52 cm. in thickness. The path going S. and passing W. of these ruins may represent an ancient road line, though there are no definite traces of antiquity along its course. On its W. edge are scanty remains of another villa, including a drum of a white marble column about 66 cm. in length.

On the N. of the Tenuta del Pilo Rotto comes the boundary of the Agro Romano, which may here (as elsewhere) partially follow an ancient road: but the only definite traces of paving-stones are further S.E. in the Quarto del Capo at the crossing of a branch stream—and even

they are not *in situ*. They are of limestone, not of selce. On the W. bank of this stream are remains of an extensive villa: a grey granite column 50 cm. in diameter at the base still lies there, and three more were seen here a few years ago by Mr. St. Clair Baddeley, but they have since been removed. In this district (on the Colle Cerino or Cervino, 'nel Fondo Santavelli') were found the inscriptions *C.I.L.* xiv. 3920, 3924, 3925—all sepulchral and of no great importance.

To the E. of Torre Mastorta the left half of a white marble cippus is lying in the field. It is 1·20 mètre in height; above the plinth is a four-line inscription (almost illegible—I could only read

ENO
N TYRAN

in the first two lines). Above it is the bust of a woman (the bust of her husband was probably upon the other half of the cippus), and above that in the tympanum is an eagle. To the N. of it I saw another cippus, said to have been discovered in 1898, but which, on examination, turned out to have upon it the sepulchral inscription (*C.I.L.* xiv. 3711) of M. Numius Proculus, a silk merchant (siricarius), set up by his wife, Valeria Chrysis. The cippus was seen here or hereabouts and copied in 1831 or in 1832, and has apparently been lost sight of ever since.

The road which we left at Torre Mastorta continues to run N.N.E., and is for a time almost parallel to the other branch, and only about half a mile N.W. of it. A kilomètre from Torre Mastorta a brick tomb is seen on the S.E. side of the road, and a kilomètre further on another, of which only the concrete core of the walls remains. The road gradually trends more to the left, and after reaching the Fonte Formello turns due N., and runs to the village of S. Angelo, of which we shall have to speak later on (*infra*, 186).

The road which we have been considering has been taken by Westphal (*Römische Kampagne*, 110) to be the original Via Tiburtina, which, he supposes, ran with this road as far as its bifurcation near Torre Mastorta, and then followed its right branch for a mile or so; after this it turned eastwards, passing to the N. of the Aquae Albulae, and ran straight across the plain to the Ponte dell' Acquoria (*infra*, 152), after crossing which it ascended a steep slope, and joined the other road at the outskirts of Tivoli, just below the so-called Villa of Maecenas. He maintains that the long

détour was necessitated by the impassable state of the plain before the Aquae Albulae were taken into the Anio by a canal; and that, on any other hypothesis, the existence of the Strada Vecchia di Montecelio is inexplicable, as it would have been far easier to make a short deverticulum to Montecelio from the road from Rome to S. Angelo and Palombara (which itself diverges from the Via Nomentana near Coazzo) than to construct a road all the way from Settecamini to Montecelio. He further argues that this is the reason why the Antonine Itinerary gives the distance from Rome to Tibur as 20 miles, whereas by the more recent road (the present highroad which passes over Ponte Lucano) it is only $18\frac{1}{2}$. He attributes to the same cause the fact that the Tabula Peutingerana gives the distance of the station ad Aquas Albulas from Rome as 16 miles, whereas it is only 14 by the highroad. The inscription said by many writers to have been discovered in the 16th century near the modern baths on the highroad, which is taken by Nibby (*Analisi*, iii. 639) and others to be the 14th milestone, is, however, a forgery of Pirro Ligorio (*C.I.L.* xiv. 361*).[1]

[1] Revillas in his notes makes the following calculation in canne of 10 palms each = m. 2·223.

Distance by the modern road ... ... 18 modern miles = 667 × 18 =	12,036
Subtract the distance from the ancient gate of Tivoli to the eighteenth mile ...	106
	11,930
Add the distance from the Porta Viminalis to the Porta Chiusa	420
Add the difference between the distance from the Porta Chiusa to the point of junction of the ancient and the more recent Via Tiburtina and the distance from the Porta S. Lorenzo to the point of junction	178
Add the difference in length between the ancient and modern road from Ponte Mammolo to Ponte del Magugliano	150
Add the difference in length between the ancient and modern road from Ponte del Magugliano to Osteria del Forno	160
Add the difference in length between the ancient and modern road from Ponte Lucano to Tivoli (see *infra*, 148)	65
	12,903

Divide by the ancient mile at 660 canne 4 palms, and the result is that the estimated distance to Tibur is just over $19\frac{1}{2}$ miles. Most of the items to be added are, however, put at rather too high a figure. From the Porta Viminalis to the Porta Chiusa is only 570 mètres (nearly 256 canne), while the additions to the length between Ponte Mammolo and Settecamini (or il Forno) are probably excessive; and finally, it does not seem clear to me that anything ought to be added in respect of the difference in distance from the Porta Chiusa and from the Porta S. Lorenzo to the point of junction of the earlier and more recent roads (*supra*, 87, 93).

Revillas' calculations do not, therefore, remove our difficulties.

Duchesne (*Lib. Pont.* i. 326, n. 14) quotes Bruzza's account of the church of S. Severino, built by Honorius I., 'iuxta civitate Tiburtina, miliario ab urbe Roma XX,' which he identified in 1883 as being $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles beyond Tivoli on the road to Vicovaro, precisely 20 ancient miles from the walls of Rome. Cf. Bruzza, *Regesto della Chiesa di Tivoli*, 95.

Desjardins (*Essai sur la Topographie du Latium*, 138), while he accepts the theory of the existence of the two roads, holds the reverse of Westphal's view as to their comparative antiquity. Nibby (*loc. cit.*) places the point of divergence between the older and the more recent road in the neighbourhood of Casale Martellona, four miles or more along the modern road beyond Settecamini, and many other writers have taken this view.[1] He states that the road can be traced across the plain, and Cabral and Del Re (*Delle Ville di Tivoli*, 45) mention the existence of paving-stones of selce (which is not a material found in the district) to the N. of the Lago della Regina. I have not been able to trace them, though there are a few (not *in situ*) a little to the W.[2] There are also a few paving-stones (not *in situ*) about 3 miles to the E., in the fieldwalls which flank the eastern portion of the path from the Ponte delle Vigne to the Ponte dell' Acquoria (cf. Nibby, *Schede*, iv. 34, cited *supra*, 81, n. 2). This path must represent more or less the line that would have been taken by a road—supposing that it existed—from the Lago della Regina to the Ponte dell' Acquoria. Westphal admits that no traces of his 'primitive Via Tiburtina' are visible, while Canina (*Edifizi*, vol. v. p. 106) asserts that the baths of the Aquae Albulae (the so-called Bagni della Regina) were reached by a deverticulum from the 13th mile of the (present) Via Tiburtina, which followed more or less the line of the modern road to Montecelio,[3] and had only recently been destroyed ; and that this road could not be traced beyond the Lago della Regina. His view is that 'la via Tiburtina è sempre passata per il Ponte Lucano.' It is noticeable that Nibby (*Schede*, iv. 11[v]) says, 'on the way to the baths . . . a little *before* reaching the casale the traces of the ancient road which led to the baths, and probably is the original Tiburtina, are seen.' This does not agree with the statement of Cabral and del Re as to the existence of a road to the N. of the lake, which they suppose to have run thence straight to the Ponte dell' Acquoria. Of such a road no traces are, as a matter of fact, to be seen ; at least, after careful search and repeated enquiries, I have been quite unable to discover any. This may be explained by the fact that the formation

[1] Among them is Ansaloni (the author of an unpublished work on Tivoli, the MS. of which is preserved in the Jesuit college there), who wrote in 1791 (i. 241–243).

[2] It is just possible that these may have belonged to a road from the Lago della Regina to Ponte Lucano (see *infra*, 126, n. 1).

[3] Canina's plan (*Edifizi*, vol. vi. tav. 120) shows it as running 500 yards to the E. of the modern road.

of much of the travertine that overspreads the plain is comparatively recent.

We may return, then, after this long digression, to Settecamini. The ancient road seems here to have left the modern slightly on the right, passing to the S. of the remains of what is apparently a large tomb, orientated N. and S.—a concrete structure consisting of an oblong chamber entered from the N. end, having five niches.[1] A little further on is another vaulted structure of concrete, facing N. with its back against the rock through which the modern road passes in a cutting.[2]

Promis apparently took it for a nymphaeum, and saw that it was faced with opus mixtum (*op. cit.* 24), unless he is referring to the ruins S. of the modern road at the 13th kilomètre.

Just to the N.E. of the 12th kilomètre the cutting of the ancient road is clearly seen, and before very long the fine cippus *C.I.L.* vi. 34217 is reached ; it is lying in the field just on the S. edge of the line of the road.

Further on there is a curved cutting through a somewhat higher hill—though there seems no reason why the cutting should not have been made straight—on the N. side of which there is the concrete core of a lofty square tomb. From this point the road turns E.S.E. to rejoin the modern road, which it reaches a little before the 14th kilomètre. No remains of antiquity are to be seen along the course of the latter, except some insignificant remains of opus reticulatum on the S., just W. of the 13th kilomètre.

About a kilomètre to the S. of the road, a little to the W. of the path from the Osteria delle Capannaccie to Casale Rosso, are the ruins of a square structure, probably a tomb, in brickwork of a not very good period : it measures 5·75 mètres square inside, and at each angle are buttresses 88 cm. square to take quadripartite vaulting. At the S. end is a small walled space, built in opus mixtum, as long as the tomb itself, but only 1·07 mètre in width : whether its side and back walls were ever carried up above ground level is uncertain—it may have been the opening of a stairway to an underground chamber.

A little way to the E. of this, a kilomètre E.S.E. of the Osteria, a tomb

[1] Promis (*op. cit.* 24) describes it as having six—perhaps counting the entrance—and gives its measurements as 5·97 by 3·05 mètres.

[2] A cutting existing to the S. of the modern road, and parallel to it, close to the 11th kilomètre, does not appear to be of ancient origin : a similar one may be seen at the 13th kilomètre, where it cannot be other than modern.

with the interesting inscription of L. Plotius Sabinus was found in 1890 (*Not. Scav.* 1890, 36; *Bull. Com.* 1890, 103; *Rendiconti Lincei*, 1890, 195; *Röm. Mitt.* 1890, 299; *C.I.L.* vi. 31746), and almost immediately covered up again. The tomb consisted of a chamber 6·75 mètres square, constructed in brickwork, with a white mosaic pavement: and the inscription was cut upon a large slab of marble which formed the front of the sarcophagus. Still further to the S., close to the Anio, is Casale Rosso, where until recently the sepulchral inscription *C.I.L.* vi. 36408 was preserved (cf. *Not. Scav.* 1901, 328).

On the way back to the highroad, a little to the E. of the path, is a small water reservoir raised upon a vaulted substructure, and near it loose bricks, belonging probably to the villa which it supplied.

The westernmost of the two tombs just mentioned was perhaps on the line of an ancient road of which no traces are preserved hereabouts—the country being open pasture land—but which can be traced descending in an E.S.E. direction towards the S. end of the Casale del Cavaliere through a well-marked cutting: a few paving-stones are to be seen in the fieldwall at the top of the hill, and there are a great many at the Casale del Cavaliere, which seems to stand upon the site of an ancient villa, as it contains many fragments of marble columns and a fine piece of a small frieze of bucrania and foliage. The site is a very fine one; that it was one of the fortified villages of primitive Latium cannot be said: there are no traces of artificial fortification: but the neck by which it is joined to the land on the N. is not a very wide one, and the place was certainly occupied in mediaeval days. One would expect that even in Roman times, if not earlier, there was a bridge over the Anio not far off; but no traces of it have ever been discovered, as far as I know—and indeed the river would probably have swept them all away in the changes of its course (see *Papers*, i. 146).

The lane leading from the Casale del Cavaliere to the highroad does not show any traces of antiquity—on the W. of it are the débris of an extensive building of brick and opus reticulatum (to the N. of the house at point 58 on the map), and to the E. of it, opposite this house, more débris, and a concrete floor under the house to the E.S.E.: while lower down, on the E. of a stream which joins the Anio to the E. of the casale, are the remains of vaulted substructures in concrete.

The cutting descending E. from the casale is in all probability ancient,

and, as we have seen, there are many paving-stones at the casale itself, though none *in situ*. On reaching the bottom of the valley it turned N.E. and traversed a very clearly marked cutting, 3·5 mètres wide, through the hill, on the W. of the railway. It is not impossible that a branch from Lunghezza joined it at this point—a track may be seen descending N.E. from Lunghezza which would easily fall into its line, and this is certainly the best place for crossing the Anio. After passing through the cutting it cannot be traced any further, as the Anio valley is full of alluvial soil. On the N.W. side of the railway, a little further on, is a mediaeval tower on a projecting mound, and close to it a water reservoir of Roman date—a single chamber cut in the rock, lined with brickwork and vaulted over.

Two long parallel concrete walls on the western slope of the hill, one of which still retains traces of opus reticulatum, belong to a platform connected with the villa which was supplied by this reservoir: but the existence of a rock-cut drain at the N.W. angle of the mound seems to indicate that the upper portion was also occupied by the villa.

Returning to the Via Tiburtina, we may note that Pirro Ligorio (*Bodl. Canon.* 138, f. 117) describes an interesting discovery of tombs in the neighbourhood of the 9th milestone in his day. 'Hauemo uisto hoggidi portare in Roma un altro leone[1] et di un altro sepolcro di marmo, la quale era per la medesima uia (Tiburtina) passato il ponte Mammolo IIII miglia, il quale leone il uedemo, con una figura accanto di huomo (et è caualcato da un putto) la quale è tanto ruinato, che no si puo giudicare che si facessino: et chi la uole ueder potra uederlo dinanzi alla casa de Porcari.[2] Non molto lontano doue fu leuato il detto leone, fu anchor leuato, et condotto à Roma nel foro Boario un coperchio di un altro sepolcro, et nel detto foro fu tagliato à pezzi dalla gnoranza dell' huomini, il quale era con dui fastigi tutti due intagliati nell' istesso marmo; il quale era per il magior lato XX palmi, et il minor lato era di X palmi. Era tutto il detto coperchio cinto di cornice, et lauorato a guisa di un tetto che pioue da due banne (bande?), et in ciascuno degli quattro angoli, haueua una Acroteria o' uer posamento di statua.'

Shortly after the modern road rejoins the ancient we reach the remains of a tomb on the N. of the road: to the S. of it, 'in loco nuncupato

[1] He has just been speaking of the relief of a lion from a tomb near Ponte Lucano (*infra*, 141, n.).

[2] See Lanciani, *Storia degli Scavi*, i. 115.

il Cavaliere, iuxta viam quae ducit Tibur' (the casale is some distance off, but the tenuta runs up to the road), *C.I.L.* xiv. 3652 was copied in 1733, and about five hundred yards further on the right we see the remains of the church of S. Symphorosa, which was excavated in 1878. (See Stevenson, *La Basilica di S. Sinforosa* in *Gli Studi in Italia*, 1878–1879, for a full description of the results attained.) *C.I.L.* xiv. 3915 was found hereabouts in 1737. A little further on, on the same side is a tomb,[1] now converted into a dwelling; and we next pass through a cutting, where remains of the ancient pavement of the road (noted by Promis, *op. cit.* 24, as 4 mètres in width) may still be seen.[2] To the S. recent quarrying has disclosed the foundations of a villa, with water cisterns cut in the subsoil. Mammoth's teeth were also found here. A little way beyond is another piece of ancient paving *in situ*, and a few hundred yards further is the Osteria delle Tavernucole, which according to Nibby (*Schede*, iv. 10) is to be regarded as an ancient site on account both of its name (obviously 'tabernuculae') and of the existence of ancient concrete (which is now no longer visible) beneath part of the modern building. A little way to the N.E. is situated the large mediaeval Castell' Arcione (Nibby, *Analisi*, i. 416). Ligorio (*Taur.* 7, s.v. Dyania), who invented the forged inscription *C.I.L.* vi. 160*, says that there were discovered with it 'aliquae statuae togatae et palliatae virorum et mulierum,' and that the inscription itself 'servatur in aedibus Achillis Maffei nobilis Romani.' It is quite likely that the statues are as mythical as the inscription; but the building in all probability occupies an ancient site. Coppi states indeed (*Diss. Accad. Pont.* v. 225) that an ancient reservoir was still in existence there, and in use as a storehouse. Of this I could hear nothing; but the walls are full of fragments of brick, marble, and selce, and there are several blocks of marble, including a cornice and a square pilaster capital, the latter 58 cm. in width. To the E. of the castle are several unimportant ruins, and S. of the highroad a water reservoir.

Beyond Le Tavernucole is another cutting, in which further traces of the ancient road are visible. Gori (*Archivio Storico di Roma*,

[1] Revillas notes the existence of another, further still on the same side.

[2] Revillas saw the *crepido* as far as Le Tavernucole. The bridge he notes as ancient, but it has been entirely rebuilt since his day. Many of the paving-stones now serve as the floor of the courtyard of the Osteria.

iii. 324) notes that the pavement was here 3·80 mètres wide. Between the 16th and 17th kilomètres of the modern road a small marble cinerary urn with inscription, still containing the ashes of the deceased, was discovered in 1899 (*Bull. Com.* 1899, 263; *Not. Scav.* 1899, 387). A little way to the W. of the 17th kilomètre stone the fragmentary inscription *C.I.L.* xiv. 3916 was seen in a fieldwall in 1869. Promis (*Alba Fucense*, 26), who gives the text in a slightly different form, adds that it was found both upon a cippus 1·635 m. high and a marble epistyle 0·636 m. high. Between the 11th and 12th miles of the modern road near Castell' Arcione the tombstone of Iulia Stemma (*C.I.L.* vi. 20691) was found—when, we do not know: Nibby (*Viaggio*, i. 104) saw it standing by the road. Here were also discovered the objects described in the following passage of the MS. of Revillas' chapter on the temple of Hercules at Tibur (f. 3):

'Et dum haec scribimus, inter xi et xii Viae Tiburtinae ab urbe lapidem marmorea quaedam effossa sunt fragmenta, inter quae columnae rubro colore variegatae frustum, sepulcralis epigraphes, quam infra proferemus (*C.I.L.* xiv. 3647) ac tandem cippus, seu ara sic inscripta

VICTORI
HERCVLI
SACRVM

exscripsi.'

Dessau (*C.I.L.* xiv. 3549) has confused this inscription with another:

TIBVRS
HERCVLI
SACRVM

which, according to Revillas (f. 1), was found 'sub Carmelitarum Ecclesiae pavimento, circa annum 1724 . . . in quo, referente mihi Paullo Columna' [he did not apparently copy it himself] 'non *Tibur* . . . sed *Tiburs* perspicue legebatur' (cf. *Sched. Berol.*). It is this last inscription which he figures in his *Diocesis et Agri Tiburtini Topographia.*

The first was communicated to Volpi also by Paolo Colonna: he notes it as 'in marmorea columella eruta ex agro Tiburtino Ann. Sal. 1738' (*Vetus Latium*, x. 156), so that we get an approximate date for Revillas' 'dum haec scribimus'—which, however, may go down even to

July, 1739, for he says that *C.I.L.* xiv. 3545 was found at that date (*Sched. Berol.*), ' nobis itidem haec scribentibus ' (*Herculis Fanum*, f. 4).

Both Revillas and Volpi seem to have been at work at the same time, but independently, for neither mentions the other,[1] though both acknowledge the help of Paolo Colonna.

The promised copy of *C.I.L.* xiv. 3647 is given on f. 20 : ' (lapis) tripedalis quadratus, et coronice adornatus . . . atque ad saepius memorati Paulli Columnae aedes translatus, sic absolutissimis literis inscribitur.'

At the 17th kilomètre, on the right, is the Casale Martellona ; the inscription *C.I.L.* xiv. 3914 is built into the wall of the casale ; *ibid.* 3917 lies in the scrub to the S. of the road, which at this point emerges from the undulating pasture land which it has traversed up till now, and enters upon a desolate plain, covered with the deposit left by the Aquae Albulae, which slopes gently down towards the Anio. *C.I.L.* xiv. 3918 was also found here. As we have noted (*supra*, 110), some writers place here the point of divergence between the original and the later course of the Via Tiburtina.[2] On the left of the road are the remains of a villa. A mile to the N., to the E. of the Casa dei Bifolchi shown in the map, is the Casale di Torre dei Sordi, which occupies a commanding position on the hill. No traces, however, of any ancient building can be seen, though there are some architectural fragments in the courtyard, the provenance of which is, however, quite uncertain.[3] On the N. edge of the highroad 400 yards further on are the remains of a tomb, by which are paving-stones of the ancient road appearing in the modern, and from this point to the deviation of the road to Montecelio the two seem to coincide almost absolutely, the ancient running on the S. edge of the modern and making the same sharp bend as it does. Near the small dried-up Lago dei Tartari are remains of uncertain date, among which an imperfect statue of a man clad in a toga, of moderate execution, was discovered in 1827 ; while to the S. of the road are the scanty remains of an extensive villa, attributed to M. Pedonius on very uncertain evidence (Cabral and del Re, *op. cit.* 72 ; cf. *C.I.L.* xiv. 357*).

[1] The only exception is when Revillas quotes Volpi's reading of *C.I.L.* xiv. 3554.

[2] The modern road is probably slightly to the S. of the ancient line here (Bulgarini, *Notizie di Tivoli*, 132 *init.*).

[3] In the tenuta of Tor dei Sordi, or else in that of Lunghezza, was found the Greek metrical sepulchral inscription published by Grossi-Gondi, *Il tempio di Castore e Polluce sul Tuscolo* (1901), 17.

At this point the modern road to Montecelio diverges to the N., passing a little to the W. of the Aquae Albulae and skirting the edge of the plain until it reaches the railway station of Montecelio. According to Canina (*Edifizi*, v. p. 106, note 7), this road corresponds more or less with an ancient road to the Aquae Albulae (*supra*, 110).

The Aquae Albulae (see *C.I.L.* xiv. p. 435) lie about a mile to the N. of the highroad. The water is bluish, strongly impregnated with sulphur and carbonate of lime, and rises at a temperature of about 75° Fahr.[1] There are two lakes in which the water rises—the Lago delle Colonnelle and the Lago della Regina—both of which are continually diminishing in size owing to the amount of deposit left by the water on the banks. On the W. side of the Lago della Regina are considerable remains of a large building, which is variously called the Bagni di Marco Agrippa or the Bagni della Regina Zenobia, neither of which names rests upon any real authority. A plan is given by Canina (*Edifizi*, vi. tav. 120; cf. *Edifizi* v. 105, *Bull. Inst.* 1855, 33).

There is a large square courtyard with a round building at each corner, and subterranean chambers within its area: between it and the lake are considerable portions of coarse white mosaic pavements *in situ*, and beneath it are other subterranean chambers; the brickwork with which the concrete is faced is coarse and probably belongs to a rather late period.

Excavations have been made here at various periods. Bacci[2] (*de Aquis Albulis*, ed. ii. 1568, 93), writing in 1550, describes these ruins and mentions some excavations by Vincenzo Mancini of Tivoli, and also the removal of columns of verde antico, some to the Villa Papa Giulio by Julius III, others to the loggia of the Palazzo Farnese by Paul III.[3] Two

[1] Strabo (v. 3. 11, p. 238) calls it cold like that of the Aquae Labanae (*supra*, 71).

[2] His account is reprinted in *Giorn. Accad.* lxxi. (1837), 61 *sqq.*

[3] The following account of the state of the building towards the end of the 16th century may not be without interest: (f. 103ᵛ) 'la magnanima et Regal fabrica fatta da Cesare Imperatore Augusto la quale si ritroua discosto dalle dᵉ Accque da cinquanta passi . . . le Accque passauano dal Luogo oue risorgono per Aquidotto sotto la Terra, e si conduceuano al dº Luogo . . . Ordinato con gran disegno et Artifitio con le sue stufe, et scali di diuersa fattura con Pauimenti di musaico adorni con con un Teatro ricinto intorno di un Ordine di Bellissime Colonne di Breccia uerde le quali sono (f. 104) tanto in prezzo con statue di marmo diuerse, Le Colonne sono da 30 Palmi grosse proportionatamente di Ordine Toschano con suoi Bellissimi Capitelli, e sue Basi, et acciò si habbi da Creder che le dᵉ Colonne siano di Valore, e di Bellissima Natura, La felice memoria di Papa Giulio 3º ne hebbe Notitia di queste Colonne Vaghe, però subbito Ordinò che douessino andare a Roma delle quali se ne serui per Ornare la sua Uigna Uicino al Palazzo del Papa, che hoggi di si fa chianare la Uigna di Papa Giulio, ma doppo che le forno polite, et imbronite le furno apprezzate mille e cinquecento scudi l'una. delle Medeme Colonne se ne ritrouano anche quattro

others were removed towards the end of the 18th century by a Tivoli builder (Cabral and del Re, *Delle ville di Tivoli*, 64). More important excavations were made in 1736 (see Volpi, *Diss. dell' Accad. di Cortona*, ii. 180): two more columns of verde antico, 12 palms high by 2 in diameter, and others of other kinds of marble, some fragmentary statues, parts of a mosaic pavement (Furietti, *de Musivis*, 52), and a flight of steps descending to the baths were unearthed, and the following inscriptions were discovered—*C.I.L.* xiv. 3908, 3910, 3911, 3912,[1] and the brickstamp *ibid.* xv. 122b, which is dated by Dressel slightly before 123 A.D. (see Ficoroni, *Labico*, 37). Canina (*Edifizi*, vol. v. p. 108, n. 12) speaks of unimportant excavations made in the first half of this century, and notes the existence on the spot of an Ionic capital (*Edifizi*, vol. vi. tav. 120, Fig. 1).

Further excavations were made in 1857 by the pontifical government

altre in la Chiesa di S. Pietro della Città Nostra di Tiuoli . . . et altre si ritrouano in lo Medemo Luogo di Bagni per il Medemo Adornamento ui si ritrouano anche in dº Luogo di Bagni di Moltî Altri pezzi rotti per terra. . . .

'Si Ritrouano Anche in dº Luogho di Bagni Muraglia grosse più di Venticinque palmi con li suoi Seggi Ordinatamente per la Comodità di coloro che doueuano prendere li Bagni in de Muraglie (f. 104ᵛ), si uedono Aquidotti e credo che seruiuano per Sfumatorij delle Stufe, perche altro effetto non poteuano fare per ritrouarsi cosi alti in de Muraglie più di Ottanta palmi.'

The passage is taken from a copy of Zappi's MS. history of Tivoli (the original of which is preserved in the Municipal Library there) which I acquired at the sale of Prof. Costantino Corvisieri's library in 1902, and which came from the library of the Briganti Colonna family. The original dates from 1583 (*C.I.L.* xiv. p. 371, xiii.).

Kircher (*Vetus Latium*, 203) seems to have seen columns of serpentino verde as well: 'erat fabrica haec Thermarum . . . columnis ex ophite, quem serpentinum vocant, lapide suffulta, quae deinde avulsae Romam allatae feruntur, et eae putantur esse, quas Constantinus imperator in Ecclesiae Lateranensis a se fundatae ornamentum applicuit.' The value of his statement is, however, uncertain—for on p. 119 he repeats a conjecture that the columns in the Lateran were found at Torre Nuova (*Papers of the British School at Rome*, i. 233).

[1] To the inscriptions found here must be added *C.I.L.* xiv. 3541. Revillas (*Herculis Fanum*) gives the following account of it: 'praestat . . . alium lapidem proferre recentissime, anno scilicet MDCCXXXVI ad Aquas Albulas effossum, nonnihil tamen mutilum

HERCVLEI
C ANTISTIVS · CN · F
CENS
DECVMA FACTA ITERVM
DAT

exscripsi'

The indication of its find-spot in the *Corpus* is incorrect, for the passage quoted from Volpi runs in full (the italics are mine and denote the portion omitted):

'*trasportata, Dio sa quando*, nel sito del Collegio vecchio de' Padri della Compagnia di Gesù, è stata ritrovata *e scoperta dal P. Girolamo Tebaldi della medesima Compagnia, sagace investigatore ed amatore sollecito della venerabile Antichità in* quest' anno 1736.' How, in the very year of its discovery, Volpi could profess such ignorance of the place where it was found is another matter.

in order to ascertain the plan of the building: marble pavements were found *in situ* in some of the rooms, and the following brickstamps (the discovery of which in this place has not been recorded in the *Corpus*), *C.I.L.* xv. 1019 (date about 120 A.D.), 702, 1500 (reign of Hadrian), 617, 1081 (145–155 A.D.) (Viale e Latini, *Sulle Acque Albule presso Tivoli, Analisi Chimica*, Roma, 1857, p. 52; Gori, *Archivio Storico di Roma*, iii. 340). The latest discoveries were those of 1902 (*Not. Scav.* 1902, 111; *Bull. Com.* 1902, 209); two hermae, one having an ideal female head of archaistic type, the other, headless, bearing the name of Thespis, came to light: some walls were also found, and a fragment of a metrical inscription accompanying some object dedicated to these springs. Several statues have been discovered here at various times—among them the statue of Hygieia now in the Sala a Croce Greca of the Vatican Museum (Sebastiani, *Viaggio a Tivoli*, 204), and that of Apollo Lycius now in the Capitol (Bottari, *Mus. Capit.* iii. tav. 13).

The channel by which the waters of the Lago delle Colonnelle are conducted into the Lago della Regina cuts through some brick walls, which probably belong to other buildings connected with the baths. The lead pipes said to have been found here must, as Canina says, have served for the water from the Lago S. Giovanni, which is slightly acidulous, not for the sulphur water, which would have choked them.

A little way to the E. is the Casale Sant' Antonio, near which in the 16th century were found small marble statues of the nine Muses. At Colle Ferro the son of Duke Federico Cesi found a bracelet of gold, a vase of silver, and some female ornaments (Antonio del Re, *Delle Antichità Tiburtine*, cap. v. (Rome, 1611) 93).

Not far from the Casale S. Antonio to the N. is some flat ground known as I piani di Conche. The name appears in two documents of the end of the 16th century, cited by Bulgarini, *Notizie di Tivoli*, 133. Trebellius Pollio (*Script. Hist. Aug. Vit. xxx. Tyrann. Vit. Zenobiae ad fin.*) says that the villa of Zenobia, assigned to her by Aurelian, was situated 'in Tiburti (agro) . . . non longe ab Hadriani palatio, atque ab eo loco cui nomen est Concae.' If the name has not actually lasted on (as many of the writers on Tivoli suppose, and is quite possibly the case), then the coincidence is very curious. The idea that the villa of Regulus is to be sought near the Casale S. Antonio is due to a misinterpretation of the passage of Martial (i. 12) cited *supra*, 97. It may be noted here, once for all, that an

exhaustive examination shows that the traditional names attached to the villas in the neighbourhood of Tivoli are, almost without exception, insufficiently vouched for. In not more than two or three cases can a name be given with a reasonable degree of probability to the remains of a villa: as a rule the traditional denomination is due to the misinterpretation of a passage of some classical author, to the distortion or the misapplication of a local name, or to reliance upon an inscription which is either a forgery or, if genuine, affords no evidence as to the name of the proprietor of the villa in or near which it was found. The testimony of inscriptions on waterpipes, which is of such great value in determining the ownership of the ancient villas in other parts of the Campagna, and especially in the Alban Hills, is of no avail here, as hardly any such pipes have been discovered.

Returning to the Via Tiburtina, we find that, just to the E. of the road to Montecelio, the modern Via Tiburtina diverges to the right of the ancient road, which runs almost due E. Many of the large blocks of travertine which supported the roadway on each side are still *in situ*. After running straight on for about 600 yards it turns off S.E. by E.: at this point there is a tomb—now a mound of débris—on the S. of the road.

The large blocks of selce with which the road was paved are still, some of them, visible in the fieldwalls, while fragments are seen along the line of the roadway itself. The width of the road between the blocks of travertine which flanked it on each side is approximately 7·1 mètres (24 feet) (see *infra*, 124), while the blocks of travertine are from 0·74 to 0·95 mètre in thickness and from 1 to 2½ mètres long (Fig. 10).

The modern road crosses the ancient road again just opposite the modern bathing establishment. The water by which the baths are supplied is brought from the Lago della Regina in a canal constructed by Cardinal Ippolito d'Este in the 16th century, and is carried away to the Anio. Hereabouts 'in septo Thaddaei Barberini' was found *C.I.L.* xiv. 3913. Just beyond the collection of houses which has sprung up here is a tomb of travertine concrete, with a square chamber with four niches inside—the facing is *opus reticulatum*, and the voussoirs of the arches are of stone—on the N. of the modern road, which has been taken by the earlier topographers to be the tomb of M. Plautius Lucanus, on the faith of the forged inscription *C.I.L.* xiv. 361*. The inscription has been interpreted by more recent writers to be the 14th milestone of the Via Tiburtina, which its forger probably intended it to represent.

Between this point and the railway the ancient Via Tiburtina is clearly traceable on the S. of the modern road, and parallel to it, some of the paving-stones being actually *in situ*. On the further side of the railway the line is even clearer : the road, now running E.S.E., is flanked by large blocks of travertine, many of which have been removed, while its selce pavement has been taken up bodily and the blocks used to form a wall which skirts its N. side. There are also many tombs, and several cippi, some of which are actually *in situ* upon either side of the road. Several of the cippi bear inscriptions, which, with a full description and plan of this section of the road, have been published by Prof. Lanciani in *Bull. Com.* 1899, 22 *sqq.* I have derived important information as to earlier discoveries from an unpublished paper by the same author, *Relazione sui ritrovamenti d'antichità*, 13 *Dic.* 1885 . . . *Sulle Antiche cave di Travertino dette del Barco nel territorio di Tivoli* (for a short summary see *Not. Scav.* 1886, 24). Beginning just E. of the railway, we saw the foundations of three tombs on the S. side—one of travertine blocks, one (a columbarium) of opus reticulatum of cubes of limestone, and the third of brown tufa blocks (a material not found in the immediate neighbourhood). We also found a travertine cippus (which was not *in situ* and had probably been found in making a branch line to the quarries) bearing the following inscription :

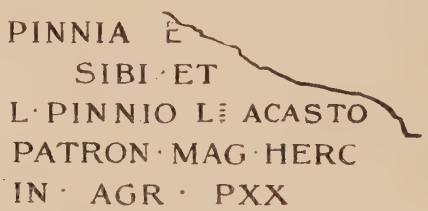
C · FICTORIVS
C · L · MOSCVS
SIBI ET SVEIS
IN · FR · P · XIIS

The cippus, which was quite perfect, was rounded at the top, and the portion exposed above the ground measured 0·545 mètre in height, 0·48 in width, and 0·165 in thickness, while the portion intended to be buried below ground measured 0·53 in height. The lettering is good, and the inscription probably belongs to the last century of the Republic.

A little further on is a large tomb on the N. side of the road, built of opus reticulatum, with large square blocks of travertine at the angles. The S. front of the tomb is 7·28 mètres in length ; at the S.E. corner there is a travertine cippus *in situ* (without any inscription preserved), while that belonging to the S.W. corner lies in the interior of the tomb ; it has a moulding round the front as if the surface had been prepared for an

inscription, but there is no trace of any lettering, and the cippus may have been left plain, or the inscription painted on it.

Close by lies another cippus of travertine (not *in situ*) with its inscription only partly preserved.



After L in the third line there is space for another letter—no doubt the text was L(uci) F(ilio) or L(iberto).

Further on are several more cippi *in situ* on either side of the road: in most cases they are so broken that the inscriptions have been destroyed, but two retain a few letters. One has

while the other has only one line,

LIBERTIS LIBERTABVS

To the S. of the road is a large mound, probably the base of a tomb. At this point the road is covered with a crust of deposit left by a stream of sulphurous water: this has been broken through in order to extract the paving-stones and blocks of travertine. The period at which this was done, both at this point and further along the road towards Ponte Lucano, is fixed by a letter of Leo X to the people of Tivoli, dated 1519 (published by Lanciani, *Bull. Com.* 1899, 25), thanking them for the blocks of travertine which they had allowed to be extracted from 'vestra strada veteri que ambobus lateribus lapedibus (*sic*) quadratis munita est vulgo nominata la quadrara' for use in the construction of S. Peter's.

We next reach the group of half-ruined houses now known as the Casaccia del Barco (a corruption of Parco) and formerly as the Casale Petrucci. One of the buildings rests upon an ancient tomb, formed

of a large mass of concrete 7 mètres square, with a round chamber in the interior, 4·75 mètres in diameter, having a rectangular niche projecting into each angle, and a lancet window between each niche, except on the side on which is the door. The walls of this chamber are finely faced with blocks of travertine, and the moulding of the door and the cornice of the impost of the domed roof are very well executed. An internal section and inaccurate plan are given by Canina, *Edifizi*, vi. tav. 122, Figs. 7–10. The inscription which belonged to this mausoleum is, in all probability, the fragmentary inscription *C.I.L.* xiv. 3760. See Sante Viola, *Storia di Tivoli*, ii. 35, who quotes Cabral and del Re (though the account is not to be found in their work).[1] The tomb is generally known as the tomb of Claudius Liberalis, but the sepulchral inscription erected in his honour (*C.I.L.* xiv. 3624) is inscribed on both sides of a cippus, and therefore did not probably belong to a tomb of this kind. Other inscriptions that have been found near here are *C.I.L.* xiv. 3736, 3750, 3751, 3864. Antonio del Re (*op. cit.* 124) speaks of the discovery of two coins of Septimius Severus in 1611. We found a fragment of an inscription upon a block of marble lying just outside the tomb, the letters of which are 7 cm. in height.

Just beyond the casale are the remains of another tomb. Twelve yards away on the right of the road, and parallel to it, runs an aqueduct (Fig. 11) which emerges from the ground close to the casale, and goes right to the edge of the travertine quarries about 500 yards away. It begins almost at once to run on arches: the highest of these is 2·82 mètres in height inside, with a span of 2·73; the piers are 1·6 mètre thick, while the specus is 0·85 broad, with walls 0·33 thick on each side. The material used is the rough surface travertine which abounds here and can be got off the ground without quarrying, and the style of construction is so rough that it might belong to any age: but Lanciani (*Relazione*, 1885, *cit.*) gives some very strong reasons for holding that it belongs to the Roman period and was constructed for the use of the quarries: (1) the fact

[1] Besides a short description of the tomb given on the authority of Sig. Antonio Petrucci, its owner, the following passage occurs: 'in distanza di palmi 20 dal monumento è stato disotterrato un masso rettangolare, in una facciata del quale si scorge un perfetto triangolo, nel cui mezzo è il corpo lunare, che incomincia a presentare le sue fasi, e sonovi inoltre tre stelle.'

that it ends abruptly at the edge of the quarries, which have been entirely abandoned from the time of the Romans until quite recent years; (2) the existence of water reservoirs along the line of the aqueduct, which are certainly Roman. One of these, near the W. end of the arched portion, measures 21 by 3·38 mètres, has a vaulted roof, and still has a quarter-round moulding of opus signinum in the internal angles, which is an unmistakable characteristic of a Roman water reservoir; (3) the size, length, and importance of the aqueduct, and especially the size of its specus, which is equal to that of the ancient Marcia. Apart from these considerations, it is difficult to suppose that it was constructed in mediaeval or modern times. The water which it conveyed was probably that of the sulphur springs, for Cabral and del Re (*op. cit.* 57) say that the channel was incrusted with sulphurous deposit. The aqueduct which supplied the Villa of Hadrian, though undoubtedly of Roman date, is not constructed very much more carefully than this.

Shortly before the end of the aqueduct is reached, the road is cut through by a branch railway line for the use of the quarries. The section of the road was taken by Prof. Lanciani, and his drawing is reproduced in *Bull. Com. loc. cit.* The road was paved with blocks of selce, which may be seen in the fieldwall. Below them is a layer of 'breccia di Ponte Lucano' or river gravel, then more chips of selce, then mud and sand, then another layer of chips of selce. The roadway is 6·7 mètres in width (about 22⅔ Roman feet); this is half as much again as the average width of this and other first-class Roman roads, and serves to indicate the immense traffic that the road must have carried at this point. On each side is a wall of opus incertum 0·45 mètre thick, and on the S. side of the road there is a footpath 1 mètre wide, paved with chips of selce and sand, and outside this a wall of very large blocks of travertine 0·78 mètre in width. This wall was discovered for a length of 80 mètres, running along the edge of the quarry, and a part of it is still visible, though most of it has been removed by modern quarrying.

As has been said, the working of the quarries was only resumed a few years back. While they were abandoned, the overflow of the Aquae Albulae had made a stratum of hard incrustations, which covered completely the perpendicular N. edge of the quarry: when this was removed, the wall of the quarry was exposed precisely as the Romans left it. The enormous size of the workings (500,000 square mètres) shows that this was

the most important of their travertine quarries.[1] It is described by Prof. Lanciani in *Ruins and Excavations*, 35–37.

The modern workings have removed the road bodily for a little way, but it soon becomes traceable again on the N. side of the quarry, running now in a N.E. direction. The embankment of the road is still quite clearly marked, and is crowned by a wall of recent date, built almost entirely of the paving-stones removed from the road. In the field on the N. are many travertine blocks from the supporting wall, and bricks, etc., from the tombs which lined it.

Here I observed a block of travertine bearing the following inscription:

The letters are large, about 17 centimètres in height, and not deeply cut in the stone: what the meaning of the inscription may be, is doubtful; it is probably a quarry mark, but I cannot venture an interpretation. The lettering seemed undoubtedly ancient.

On the S. side just to the W. of the Casale del Barco the road is supported by a wall of rough opus incertum, perhaps of Roman date, though it may have been substituted for the big blocks of travertine removed in the time of Leo X (*supra*, 122). It is probable, however, that at this time the ancient road was abandoned.

The road now turns again, and runs slightly N. of E. until it reaches Ponte Lucano. Not long before arriving at the bridge, we pass a small rectangular building built of concrete faced with small pieces of travertine, which is the chapel of S. Ermo, built by Hadrian IV in 1159 (according to Baronius, cited by Cabral and del Re, *op. cit.* 57). To the S. close to the Anio is an enormous mound composed entirely of quarry rubbish. We

[1] The name 'Tiburtinus (with 'Lunensis' and 'Lesbius') lapillus' occurs in a sepulchral inscription—*C.I.L.* vi. 13830; cf. also *infra*, 201. We may cite the description of Zappi (f. 138): '. . . et in quel luogo ui sono Restate quattro Memorie, in questo Modo hanno lasciato del Medmo Sasso a radicato della Terra Proprio, si come la Natura l' ha creato dico un quatrangolo grosso più di dodici palmi per faccia et alto 30 palmi, et questo li Scarpellini di quel tempo si risolsero a lasciare queste quattro Memorie acció si conoscesse la Moltitudine delli quadri, che da quel luogo si Cauauano . . . . et tutte quelle scaglie, ouero scarpellature che il scarpello Buttaua uia per Abozzare il quadro, et altri Lauori, ne ridussino tanta gran Moltitudine che ne fecero un Monte il quale oggi di si chiama il Montarozzo della Uiuara, Contrafaceuano quel Monte di Testaccio in la Città di Roma.'

soon reach Ponte Lucano[1] and rejoin the modern road, which runs not far from and parallel to the ancient road between Bagni and this point, and presents no features of interest or traces of antiquity. Some ruins along it, N. of the Casale del Barco, are believed by modern writers to be the site of the discovery of *C.I.L.* xiv. 3755. But according to Nicodemus,[2] p. 68, this was made on the occasion of the destruction of some ruins near the canal of the Aquae Albulae—that is, a good deal further W. Antonio del Re (*op. cit.* 125) speaks of a round tomb a little way nearer Tivoli called Il Truglio, where, about 1609, many fine blocks of travertine were dug out. This has now entirely disappeared, unless the reference is to the tomb described *supra*, 123. More than a mile to the N. are the large travertine quarries known as Le Fosse, which were also worked by the Romans, but have long lost their ancient character; they were used to provide material for S. Peter's at Rome (Zappi, f. 106^{v}), and are still worked. In the quarries called Le Caprine, still further N., arrow-heads, and animals' teeth, and human skeletons, buried in a sitting position and facing E.—all evidences of a neolithic station—have been found (*Bull. Inst.* 1866, 35; 1873, 38).

The bridge by which the Via Tiburtina crosses the Anio, now known as Ponte Lucano, is a fine specimen of a Roman bridge (Fig. 12). Its width is 7 mètres over all (Promis, *op. cit.* 33, gives it as 7·20 mètres—the same as that of the bridges of the Via Valeria): the ancient parapets are no longer preserved. Originally it had five arches (according to Canina, *Edifizi*, vi. tav. 121, and Nibby, *Analisi*, ii. 575), built of blocks of travertine, the core of the bridge being constructed of lumps of tufa. Four arches are now visible, the fifth being buried: that nearest to the left bank is closed, and is of mediaeval brickwork; the next is intact; the next again has been broken, and restored with masonry of the 6th century, like that used for the Ponte Nomentano and the Ponte Salario. It is probable, therefore, that it too was broken by Totila, who, as Procopius tells us (*Bell. Goth.* iii. 24, cited *supra*, 16, n. 1), cut all the bridges over the Anio between Tivoli and Rome,

[1] The existence of a good many paving-stones in the fieldwalls along the first part of a lane which runs W.N.W. from Ponte Lucano to the Lago della Regina may indicate its antiquity: but the evidence is not sufficient to assert it positively. A similar doubt must be expressed with regard to the line—tentatively marked as ancient in the map—which follows the modern road until a point to the E. of the 21st kilomètre, and falls into the road from Ponte Lucano to Palombara.

[2] For this work on Tibur, of which only one printed copy exists—from which various MS. copies are derived—see *C.I.L.* xiv. p. 371.

and restored by Narses, like the other two mentioned (*C.I.L.* vi. 1199). The arch nearest the right bank shows signs of restoration in the Middle Ages; while the buried arch is probably still further in on this side.

The bed of the river has risen very considerably, so that but little can be seen of the lower part of the bridge. The road turns sharply at each end of it, inasmuch as it is built as far as possible at right angles to the stream, though not entirely; and it has therefore been protected on the right bank by a wall of blocks of travertine (Nibby, *op. cit.* ii. 576), of which certain writers (*e.g.* Sebastiani, *op. cit.* 209) speak as though it had belonged to a small harbour.

At the E. end of the bridge, close to the river bank, is the tomb of the Plautii, a remarkably well preserved Roman mausoleum. It is circular, with a chamber inside, and faced with blocks of travertine. Three inscriptions belonging to it are still *in situ*—one upon a block of marble built into the mausoleum itself, the other two upon slabs set between half-columns, which form a sort of façade towards the road. Canina thinks that this is only part of a rectangular enclosure surrounding the tomb.[1] The inscriptions are given, together with a complete bibliography, in *C.I.L.* xiv. 3605–3608. Piranesi, *Antichità Romane*, iii. tav. 11–13, and Canina, *Edifizi*, vi. tav. 122, Fig. 1–6, give plans and illustrations of the mausoleum. The battlements which surround it bear testimony to its constant use as a fortress in the Middle Ages, owing to its important strategic position at one end of the bridge. The arms of Paul II, who restored it in 1465, still remain (cf. Bulgarini, *op. cit.* 130).

In some ground belonging to Giovanni Pacifici, 50 paces from the tomb (whether to the N. or to the S. we are not told), on the left bank of the Anio, the inscription *C.I.L.* xiv. 3644 was discovered in 1842 (Viola, *Tivoli nel Decennio* 1835–1845, 158). Canina (*Edifizi*, v. p. 107, n. 8; cf. p. 109, n. 12) speaks of a building belonging to an ancient villa, with floor of opus signinum and walls coated with cement (probably therefore a water reservoir), as existing in the property of the brothers Giansanti, 'quasi d'incontro al Ponte Lucano.' In the same neighbourhood was discovered the inscription *C.I.L.* xiv. 3681.

[1] This is also the view of Zappi, f. 136ᵛ: 'Ricinta dª Mole con un Teatrò di Colonne di Pietra Tiburtina alte dodici Palmi di Ordine Ionico con le sue nicchie di Mezzo Rilievo, ma il Teatro resta Riquatrato dico con quattro facce di tal sorte che la dª Mole o' Sepoltura la si ritroua restare in mezzo circondata intorno come lo dico con due Bellissimi epitaffi.'

Just to the N.E. of and above Ponte Lucano are the remains of a villa: it is perhaps to these that Cabral and del Re refer (*op. cit.* appendice, p. 4), 'nel luogo che dicesi alto di Ponte Lucano . . . tuttora appariscono per ampio tratto antichi ruderi disfatti,' placing there the villa of Zenobia.

Sebastiani (p. 364, n. 9) cites Antonini (*Candelabri antichi*) as describing a sundial in travertine found near Ponte Lucano, and at his time in England in the collection of Thomas F. Hill, Esq.

III.—THE ROAD FROM PONTE LUCANO TO S. MARIA DI CAVAMONTE.

At the tomb of the Plautii a road diverges to the S., running close to the left bank of the Anio. At first it presents no traces of antiquity, though Nibby (*Schede*, iv. 12) noticed paving-stones in the fieldwalls on the left, but after about a mile a road which is indubitably ancient diverges from it in a north-easterly direction, and ascends almost straight to Tivoli (*infra*, 142, 188). From this point at any rate, therefore, the existence of an ancient road is certain, and it may fairly be inferred from Ponte Lucano also.

After leaving the Anio, it runs along the valley of the Fosso di San Vittorino, at first on the E. bank of the stream, and then on the W., running below the Colle Cesarano. Here, according to Bulgarini (*op. cit.*, 129), the pavement of the ancient road was discovered and removed.

Various discoveries have been made at different times upon the Colle Cesarano. Ligorio (*Neap.* lib. 35, f. 214) states that on the road which, diverges from the Via Praenestina and runs towards the Villa of Hadrian a tomb was excavated, which contained three marble statues, upon the bases of which were the inscriptions *C.I.L.* xiv. 3900–3902 in honour of some members of the family of the Caesonii; and he adds that the inscriptions were removed to Corcolle. In *Cod. Ottob.* 297 f. 21^{v} of the Vatican library *C.I.L.* cit. 3900 is spoken of as having been found at Cesarano. Zappi (MS. *cit.* f. 105) has the following passage:—

'Il Medemo Imperatore [Cesare Augusto] diede anche Ordine fare un altro Bagno delle Medeme Accque in un Luogo oue hoggi si dice Cesarano uedasi che Anche ritiene il nome Corrotto di Cesare il qual luogo e distante alli d^{i} Primi Bagni più di tre Miglia si conduceuano le d^{e} Medeme Accque per Aquidotto il quale passa sotto della Fiumata Aniene questo

dico esser stata cosa difficile, e si uedono Anco li Uestigij delle Uaschette con le Medeme Accque dentro con li altri Uestigij simili, et conueneuoli a Bagni, dalli quali se ne leuò già Molti Anni sono un Epitaffio di una Bella Memoria, a sugetto si come nel presente libro si potrà Uedere (*C.I.L.* xiv. 3900). . . . In questo Luogo si ritrouò Anche una Testa di un Marte Bellissima sopra di un Musaico Bellissimo, e Raro il quale seruiua per Pauimento in diuersi Luoghi di essi Bagni con molti Aquidotti di Piombo per le Accque dolci . . . e ui forno trouate anche certe lastrine (?) di marmo Bellissime indorate con medaglie di Argento, ui si ritrouò anche una Zampa di Leone di argento, e si considera che il resto del Leone resti nel medemo Luogo sotterrato, l'Aquidotti di Piombo conduceuano l'Accque dolci in Mezzo di un Prato, Risorgeuano in una fonte Regia Bellissima di perfette Accque.'

It need hardly be said that the story of the conduit under the Anio has no foundation in fact.

Antonio del Re (*op. cit.* 74) mentions the discovery of some leaden waterpipes. Bulgarini (*loc. cit.*) speaks of excavations made by De Angelis in 1769 at the 'Villa of the Caesonii,' which he marks quite near the Anio; and there is a villa which corresponds fairly well with his indications, a kilomètre to the E. of the Casale Cesarano, where there are still remains of a black mosaic pavement with white border. In these excavations several statues were found—one a seated statue, without arms, with Cerberus at the side, and another representing Bacchus—with some pieces of columns of fine marble, a lead pipe, and three large coins; also two rooms, which still retained their marble pavement and wall-lining. Viola (*Bull. Inst.* 1853, 147) records the discovery of a tomb cut in the rock on the summit of the hill, with a wall of tufa above it 2 mètres high, and an arched entrance to the tomb in this wall; a mass of rock was left in the centre to represent the funeral couch, and partially covered with plaster, upon which were some paintings. About twenty vases of various colours were discovered in the tomb. They were said to be of archaic appearance, but a coin of Gordianus Pius was found at the bottom of the largest!

The remains of a large villa may still be seen at the S. end of the Colle Cesarano,[1] immediately above the present road, noted by Cascioli, *Memorie*

[1] The name fundus Ceseranus occurs in a document of 924 A.D. (*Reg. Subl.* f. 185) published by Bruzza, *Regesto della chiesa di Tivoli*, 112. In a bull of 978 the confines of it and of the fundus

storiche di Poli, p. 35, n. 13). The style of construction is *opus reticulatum* with brickwork. One fragment which I found bore an unpublished stamp resembling closely *C.I.L.* xv. 632

Another had obviously been moulded upon a marble slab probably removed from some tomb, which bore an inscription; this is impressed (with the letters reversed) upon the brick. The lettering is of a good period. All that remains is

. . . d . . . | . . . rior . . . | . . . omin . . .

A little beyond this villa an ancient road diverges to the E.: on its N. edge are the remains of small brick tombs of a late period. The cutting of the road is clearly marked: it descends N.E. to the valley, and then reascends to the Colle Bulgarini, upon the top of which, at the Casetta Bianca, are some large vaulted substructures of a villa, and further W. the traces of other Roman buildings. Thence it descends, crosses the Fosso di Ponte Terra, proceeding over some very hilly country, and passing between the remains of two large villas; and finally descends steeply through a cutting and reascends to the Villa Bulgarini, which lies at the S.W. end of the Villa of Hadrian.

The road which we have been following from Ponte Lucano now descends steeply through a cutting, passing remains of villas on each side, to the Osteria delle Capannelle. This was in ancient times, and is still, an important meeting-point of roads. From the W. comes a deverticulum of the Via Praenestina, which diverges from it at the Osteria dell' Osa (*i.e.* about the 11th mile), and is now known as the Via di Poli. A description of it as far as the point we have now reached will be

paterno (*infra*, 148, n.) are given as (1) via publica, (2) paterno, (3) flumen (the Anio), (4) carrarea (a cart track—*qy.* the 'Carrara di Paterno' (?). But just after this we have 'fundum silicatum. fundum caccabelli. ab uno latere silice qui descendit a ponte lucano. a secundo latere alia silice qui pergit ad palatium antiquum. A tertio latere via publica. et a quarto lapide fundum gostanti.').

found in *Papers*, i. 177 : the rest of its course may be best dealt with here. It crosses the road from Ponte Lucano to Cavamonte, and skirts the S. and E. slopes of the Colle Fiorito.[1] It then turns due E., and ascends steeply through a long cutting of considerable depth and extraordinary regularity, until it reaches the top of the ridge known as the Colle Lungo. On each side of it are deep ravines : on the further side of that to the N.E. of the road is the village of S. Vittorino.

The site of this village is naturally a strong one, though there is no positive evidence either way to show whether it was occupied in Roman times or not. The rock has been hewn away to some extent on the S., and even more at the E. end, where the path ascending from the valley passes through a cutting, so that the only entrance to the village is by a modern bridge which spans the gap.

At the S.E. angle, upon the edge of the rock, there is a wall of rectangular blocks of yellow and dark-brown tufa, which appear to have been much weathered before they were placed in their present position, and have been relaid roughly, with much mortar between them, in later times. They measure 0·43 to 0·52 mètre in height and 0·62 in length on an average—one built into the gateway of the modern village measures 0·59 × 0·8 mètre. Below this wall there is a small cave cut in the rock upon which the village stands, which may be a tomb. Within the village itself are no traces of antiquity. A little further S.E., upon the E. (upper) side of the path which ascends from the ravine, the ground above the path is kept back by a wall of rough blocks of brown tufa, the date of which is quite uncertain. At first sight the masonry seems to belong to

[1] From this point a road (possibly of Roman origin) diverges to S. Vittorino, passing through an archway cut in the rock, which is known as the Porta Nevola, and which is of quite uncertain age. Somewhere between Porta Nevola and S. Vittorino below the hills of S. Germano (wherever they may be) is a nymphaeum cut in the rock and decorated with mosaics and shells—according to Raffaele del Re, in his edition (1883) of the first five chapters of Antonio del Re's *Storia di Tivoli*, p. 225. It is locally known as La Grotta di Paris.

Upon the Colle Fiorito, Kircher (*Latium*, 188 ; cf. map opp. p. 142) places the site of Aefula —wrongly : but Fabretti (*De Aquis*, map opp. p. 90) marks here 'rudera alterius oppidi ad viam Collatinam.' Revillas, on the other hand, places the ruins of Aefula on the Colle Tasso, where there are the remains of another large villa.

Another building of which I do not know the site is mentioned by Maria Graham (Lady Callcott), *Three Months in the Mountains East of Rome* (1820), 14. 'We [going from Le Capannelle towards Poli] entered a thicket that clothes the steep banks of the stream. As we ascended, we passed the foundation of some large antique building, formed of great square blocks of Peperino, and observed a fluted marble column lying across the path. These remains are near the little unhealthy town of San Vetturino' (*sic*).

the Cyclopean style, but the material is against this supposition,[1] and so is the fact that the interstices between the blocks are filled with small chips of stone. As I have said, the whole question of the antiquity of the site is undecided. As far as I know, no previous writer has dealt with it, and the evidence is not sufficient to enable a positive judgment to be formed.

To the S.E. of the village there is a group of ruins on the edge of the ravine, consisting of two ancient water reservoirs and the apse of a mediaeval church.

A kilomètre to the S. of these ruins, in the ravine which runs parallel to the S.W. side of the Via di Poli, a large buttress of concrete, faced with opus reticulatum with quoins of tufa, is seen on the S.W. bank of the stream. There are no traces of any corresponding buttress on the other bank, and it is doubtful whether it is the pier of a bridge. Some 50 yards to the S. of it are the remains of a square structure in opus reticulatum.

Halfway between the 27th and 28th kilomètre stones of the road an ancient road diverges in an E.N.E. direction, and descends into the valley of the Fosso di San Vittorino, where remains of a bridge in opus quadratum by which it crossed the stream are still to be seen. On the steep ascent beyond the pavement is still in good preservation. After reaching the top of this it turns first E.S.E. and then due E., running along the Colle Faustiniano. As far as the Casale Contrevio it is easily traceable by the abundance of loose paving-stones which mark its line, but beyond that its course is doubtful. Cassio (*Memorie di S. Silvia*, 26) states that it ran to the village of Casape, but Revillas in his map does not show it beyond the Casale Contrevio.

Nibby (*Analisi*, i. 29) considers the Colle Faustiniano to be the site of Aefula,[2] afterwards occupied by a large villa, of which considerable remains exist at the W. end of the hill (see Cassio, *op. cit.* 16).[3] Horace

[1] See however Fonteanive, *Avanzi Ciclopici*, 85; Giovenale in *Diss. Accad. Pont.* vii. 333; cf. *Mélanges de l'École française*, 1905, 185. But the instances cited are rather cases of the use of tufa in 'polygonal' masonry in the narrower sense, *i.e.* where there is an intentional avoidance of horizontal bedding.

[2] The form Aefula is given by the best MSS. of Horace and is also found (in the cognomen Aefulanus) in an inscription from Carthage of the Republican period (*C.I.L.* ii. 3408); cf. also *C.I.G.* 3187; *C.I.L.* vi. 34220, 34221. Hübner, *Hermes*, i. 426.

[3] The bricks forming the floor of a room discovered here in January, 1745, bore the stamps *C.I.L.* xv. 1061, 1075a, 2385, and a fragment 'ex pr. Domitiae Lucillae.'

According to letters written by Silvestro Petronselli of S. Gregorio to Revillas (on Sept. 7th and 13th, 1739), which I acquired in the Corvisieri sale, mosaic pavements were found in the vineyard of Lorenzo Lupidii, situated upon the Colle Faustiniano, also vaulted chambers with walls

mentions this village in *Carm.* iii. 29. 6, 'ne semper udum Tibur et Aefulae declive contempleris arvum et Telegoni iuga parricidae,' as being, with Tibur and Tusculum, a prominent point in the view of the hills as seen from Rome. Livy xxvi. 9. 9 tells us that a garrison was placed there when Hannibal threatened an attack on Rome in 210 B.C.: 'praesidia in arce, in Capitolio, in muris, circa urbem, in monte etiam Albano, atque arce Aesulana[1] ponuntur.' This passage, too, shows that it occupied a strong and lofty position. In the time of Horace it must have been already decaying, as Pliny (*H.N.* iii. 69) names the Aesolani among the peoples of Latium 'qui interiere sine vestigiis.'

The site selected by Nibby is not sufficiently prominent or lofty to agree with the indications given by Horace and Livy, and it is very possible that the arx Aefulana is identical with the Mons Aeflanus of *C.I.L.* xiv. 3530.

This inscription runs thus: 'Bonae Deae sanctissimae caelesti L. Paquedius Festus redemptor operum Caesar(is) et puplicorum (*sic*) aedem diritam (*sic*) refecit quod adiutorio eius rivom aquae Claudiae August(ae) sub monte Aeflano consummavit imp(eratore) Domit(iano) Caesar(e) Aug(usto) Germ(anico) xiiii co(n)s(ule) V non. iul' (3rd July, 88 A.D.). It is now preserved in the village of S. Gregorio, but the place where it was discovered is not certain. The tunnel of the Aqua Claudia, to which the inscription refers, commences in the Valle Lungherina at the point where the Fosso di Scarabazzo falls into it (see the Staff Map 1: 25,000, Castelmadama sheet), and ends somewhere to the S. of the Casale Gericomio—at the Ponte S. Antonio, at any rate, if not in one of two valleys to the N. of it, where small pieces of aqueduct substruction (which may, however, belong to the Anio Novus) are visible. If the tunnel were taken in a straight line, it would pass under the the Colle dello Scoglio, an insignificant hill about a mile to the E. of the summit of the Monte S.

8 palms in thickness, with bricks bearing a stamp, of which only the letters QSE appear to have been legible (possibly *C.I.L.* xv. 2385, P·CQSEPTICIORI). One hundred and thirty paces from the so-called Casale Grande an aqueduct 2½ palms (about 56 cm.) in width was found, which probably supplied this villa.

From a sketch-map given by Petronselli the villa might fairly be conjectured to be near the house marked 312 on the Staff Map (Colonna sheet): Petronselli's knowledge of the aqueducts seems to have been extensive, as these maps and his letters show.

Further towards the Mola a large ruined round tomb of opus reticulatum, originally of the size of that near the Ponte dell' Acquoria (*infra*, 151), but only preserved to a height of about 8 palms (1·80 mètre), was seen.

[1] This form is given by Weissenborn, who notes no other reading.

Angelo in Arcese. There is, however, no reason why the name Mons Aeflanus should not have been used somewhat loosely, even if in strictness it belonged to the Monte S. Angelo in Arcese. And that this hill was the site of the ancient village of Aefula (and, later, of the temple of the Bona Dea) is extremely probable. Dessau (*C.I.L.* xiv. p. 364, cf. also p. vii. note 2) tentatively places Aefula near S. Gregorio; but this village, though it lies high, is very much shut in by the surrounding hills, and is not to be compared with the Mons Albanus as a point of observation. In fact, it is not visible from Rome at all, so that it would not answer to the indications given by either Horace or Livy. Whether it is an ancient site is, indeed, uncertain. Nibby (*Analisi*, ii. 128) considers that it resembles other fortified hill towns in position, and in the fact that the rocks have been scarped to increase its natural defensibility, leaving only one entrance —from the N.—but confesses his inability to adduce any positive arguments in favour of his conjecture. The identification with Sassula, which has led to the adoption of its present official name—S. Gregorio da Sassola—is certainly erroneous, resting as it does on the opinion of Kircher (*Latium*, 184; see *C.I.L.* xiv. p. 364). Sassula is only mentioned once (Liv. vii. 19), as a town belonging to Tibur and afterwards taken from the latter by Rome, so that its site is quite uncertain.

Marocco (*Stato Pontificio*, x. 49) places the site of the ancient city on the Colle Mercorano (Marcoraino on the Staff Map), but the remains appear to be those of a villa of Roman times.

The main argument in favour of the Monte S. Angelo is the existence of important remains of a road of an early period ascending the mountain side, and of fragments, which probably belong to the temple of the Bona Dea, on the summit.

The remains of the road are distinctly traceable on the southern slope of the mountain at a point not very far above the new road to S. Gregorio, to the E. of a large rectangular water reservoir of Roman date, built of concrete, and unroofed, so that it was intended for the storage of rain-water. The road was supported on the lower side by a wall of Cyclopean masonry, and paved. Above the road there are two terraces, one above the other, supported by similar walls, the lower of which is much better built and better preserved than the other. The terraces are 17 mètres in length, and the lower is 6 mètres wide. Above the upper terrace again the rock has been cut perpendicularly, and there are

remains of walling built against it. Upon the upper terrace there is a fragment of concrete *in situ* of Roman date. The period and purpose to which these platforms above the road are to be assigned is doubtful, but, according to Lanciani (*Röm. Mitt.* 1891, 153), they are probably of pre-Roman date, though the lower shows a marked horizontal tendency.

High up on the S.E. side of the mountain the road can be traced again, ascending towards the summit: by it are the remains of a small water reservoir.

The ruins at the top of the mountain are, as they stand, entirely mediaeval, being those of a church and convent:[1] but many blocks of granular tufa which belong to some building of Roman date have been used in their construction. In the bushes near by lie seven unfluted columns of Carystian (cipollino) marble, each 0·35 mètre in diameter, and fragments of other marbles such as Phrygian (pavonazzetto) and Numidian (giallo) lie scattered about, with pieces of brick also. In all probability these materials belonged to the temple of the Bona Dea.

Up to the point where we left it the Via di Poli almost certainly follows an ancient line. Beyond this there are no actual traces of the antiquity of the road itself,[2] but ancient buildings are frequent along its course, and it would seem to have been a necessary artery of communication. From the narrow ridge along which we now pass some of the most important remains of the four chief aqueducts by which Rome was supplied with water (the Anio Vetus, the Marcia, the Claudia, and the Anio Novus) are visible. The ravine to the right of the road is spanned by the Ponte Lupo, which carries all the four: that to the left by the Ponte S. Gregorio, the Ponte S. Pietro, and, higher up, by the two ruined Ponti delle Forme Rotte, which last, as their arches have fallen, are not to be seen until one is close up to them: while further still to the N. the Ponte S. Antonio may be seen. The aqueducts, however, form a special branch of the topography of the Roman Campagna, and I cannot attempt here to

[1] See *Lib. Pont.* ii. 11 (ed. Duchesne): 'et in sancto Angelo in Fagano fecit (Leo III) vestem de fundato.' ii. 92, 'hic vero praesul (Sergius II) cum de omnibus ecclesiis sollicite curam gereret, etiam basilicam Sancti Archangeli, quae in cacumine Fagani montis est constituta, largiorem quam pridem fuerat a fundamentis perfecit, ac radientibus picturis luculente pingere iussit, ac sarta tecta eius noviter restauravit.' The origin of the name Faganum or Faianum (the latter is an alternative reading in the second passage) is not clear (Bruzza, *Regesto di Tivoli*, 138); Duchesne is inclined to derive it from fagus.

[2] Graham (*op. cit.* 19) says, 'the antique paved way from Tivoli to Palestrina, which runs in a line with the Catena, shows itself in more than one spot in the corn land we passed through.'

deal with, or even to mention, the problems connected with them, especially as I hope shortly to realise a long-cherished project of describing them more fully (see *Class. Rev.* 1900, 325). A little further on, at the 30th kilomètre stone of the Via di Poli, there stands on the left a large water reservoir consisting of a single chamber, with the opus signinum which lined the walls still well preserved: and close to it on the E. are the remains of a large villa. I do not know if this is that in which were found the fountain, *Brit. Mus.* no. 2538 ('found in 1776 by La Piccola, about five miles from Tivoli, near the road to Praeneste'), and the terminal figure, *ibid.* 1742 ('discovered in 1775, among some ruins, about six miles from Tivoli on the road to Praeneste').

To the S. of the road is the Casale S. Giovanni in Camporazio, to the S.E. of which are remains of a villa,[1] believed (without reason) to be that of the poet Horace (Chaupy, *Maison de Campagne d'Horace*, ii. 326; Cecconi, *Storia di Palestrina*, 85 *init.*). Hence ran an ancient road to Praeneste, according to the same authority (cf. *Papers*, i. 213).[2] A kilomètre further on, to the left of the Via di Poli, are the remains of another villa, some way to the N. of which a prominent building, called Il Torrione, is seen. It is a large tomb, with a square base in two tiers of opus quadratum and tufa, above which rises a circular structure in opus reticulatum (Cascioli, *Memorie Storiche di Poli*, 7). Canina (*Edifizi*, vi. tav. 146) gives a view and plan of it; and it seems to be referred to as 'an antique building, arched and vaulted, and surrounded by large blocks of stone,' by Graham (*op. cit.* 105), who also saw 'on the opposite side a ruin, corresponding with the former, on which a small sloping-roofed house has been erected, with some picturesque chimneys.'

According to Cascioli (*op. cit.* 6), the Torrione is on the line of a deverticulum from the Via Collatina or Praenestina (the latter can alone be correct) which follows the Fosso di S. Giovanni (in Camporazio), comes within sight of the Ponte Lupo, and thence passes by way of the

[1] Here, according to Graham (*op. cit.* 17), 'there are many ancient substructions; and funeral vases and other antique fragments have been found.'

[2] The Οὐέρεστις (or Οὐέρεσις) ποταμὸς of which Strabo (v. 3. 11, p. 239) speaks as flowing through the territory of Praeneste, has been variously identified. Many writers before Nibby believed it to be the Fosso dell' Osa, which does not however, as he justly remarks, touch the territory of Praeneste. His own identification of it with the Acqua Rossa is, however, not certain (*Analisi*, iii. 465), for Strabo's indication of its position, ῥεῖ διὰ τῆς χώρας (Πραινεστοῦ), is not sufficiently definite, and we have no other mention of it.

Torrione to Saviano,[1] and probably goes on to S. Gregorio and the Valle degli Arci.

At the Torrione another road branches off, passing to the S. of the ruins of S. Angelo (which are purely mediaeval), and, crossing the 'territorio delle Vignala e delle Facciata, dirigevâsi al Carticoso sull' alto della Cona. Quivi in tempi poco remoti, potevano ancora vedersene alcuni tratti; anzi, questa località chiamasi pure col nome di Strada romana.' The last places mentioned are not shown upon the Staff Map, but the road spoken of seems to have passed E. of Casape and S. Gregorio to the Valle degli Arci.

I have not yet been able to verify these facts on the spot, so I must give this information for what it is worth. The same author (*op. cit.* 7) mentions several villas in the neighbourhood of Poli, including one at Ficozzivoli (see *Papers*, i. map no. vi.), of which Marocco (*Stato Pontificio*, x. 13) also speaks.

A mile further on we reach the Villa Catena, where our road is joined by a modern road from Gallicano, which probably follows the line of an ancient one (*Papers*, i. 208).

Beyond this point the Via di Poli presents no features of interest, and Poli itself is, probably, entirely of mediaeval origin, though it may perhaps in ancient times have been a small town dependent on Praeneste (Nibby, *Analisi*, ii. 566).

Two marble sarcophagi, one of which bears an inscription (*C.I.L.* xiv. 298* = vi. 10500), which are to be seen in the piazza were not, as Nibby states, discovered in the neighbourhood, but were brought from Rome.

From Poli a steep mountain path leads to the road between Capranica and Castel S. Pietro, the citadel of Praeneste.

Returning to the Osteria delle Capannelle (*supra*, 130), we now rejoin the road to Cavamonte, which runs almost due S., along a narrow valley. The whole of this district is made up of an alternation of long, narrow, flat-topped hills and deep ravines, so that from above the whole looks like a single plateau. The streams which run at the bottom of these ravines are comparatively small, and much of the conformation of the country must be due to volcanic action. They all run in a north-westerly direction, and fall into the Anio between Ponte Lucano and Bagni. We

[1] The Fosso Saviano is the name given by the Staff Map to the upper portion of the Valle della Mola.

soon pass, on the E., the lower Casale Corcolle, built upon the platform of a very large Roman villa, which is constructed of opus quadratum of tufa, and of opus reticulatum. (See Nibby, *Schede*, iii. 28, 29.)[1]

A little to the S. rises the hill of Corcolle. This has been conjectured by Nibby (*Analisi*, ii. 668) and others to be the site of the town of the Querquetulani, an old Latin people mentioned by Dionysius (v. 61) and Pliny (*H.N.* iii. 69). The only argument in favour of the identification is the similarity of the name, for nothing is known of the history of the Querquetulani.

The site, however, is almost certainly ancient. The top of the hill is a plateau, measuring about 250 yards by 50 or less, the natural defensive advantages of which have been increased by the scarping of the tufa rock all round, and by its entire isolation from the larger plateau to the S.W. by a deep ditch, 30 or 40 yards wide and 10 to 15 deep, which has been made across the isthmus that once united them. A winding road cut in the rock ascends on the W. side and reaches the summit not far from the N. extremity. Another path ascends on the E. side, at the top of which a narrow footway has been cut to give access to the plateau.

Upon the plateau itself all the traces of construction that remain belong to the mediaeval castle, which occupied the whole of the summit of the hill. At the S. end, forming the S. wall of the farmhouse, is a mediaeval wall of blocks of yellow tufa, which may or may not have belonged originally to the ancient city walls, and which were very likely quarried on the spot.

The plateau to the S.W. may perhaps have been occupied by the city itself, Corcolle forming the arx, but as the former presents no traces of fortification towards the S.E. (though there are some remains of ancient buildings upon it) this is quite an uncertain point. At its N. extremity is a small modern chapel, over the door of which is an ancient relief (Fig. 13) in white marble, the subject of which is not easy to make out, though the figure on the extreme right is clearly Hercules with the lion's skin.

[1] 'Passato il ponte [over the fosso di Acqua Rossa] diriggendosi a sin. verso un fenile si riconosce essere questo fondato sopra i ruderi di un' antica villa costrutta di grandi massi di pietra quadrata e di opera reticolata. Credo che le pietre quadrate di tufa fossero un' opera precedente alla quale poi venisse addossata la costruzione reticolata, ovvero che fossero queste tolte dall' antico recinto di Corcolle . . . Del resto dalle rovine di questa villa si traccia tutta la sua spianata inferiore . . . il vicino tumulo macchioso [point 72 on the map] copre forse le rovine del piano nobile.'

Close to it are the remains of a mediaeval building—very likely an earlier chapel—built with blocks of brown tufa 0·49 to 0·59 mètre in height, 0·51 mètre in thickness, and of different lengths, which almost certainly come from some building of Roman date.

There are also fragments of about six fluted columns of Carystian (cipollino) marble, 0·45 mètre in diameter. Further to the S.E. are several blocks of tufa which appear to be remains of the foundations of buildings, the date and nature of which cannot be determined without excavation.

The road to Cavamonte runs along the valley to the S.W. of the plateau of Corcolle. Rather more than a mile from Corcolle a road-cutting in the rock is seen descending to join it from the hills on the further bank (W.) of the small stream. Half a mile further we reach Passerano,[1] where another ancient road comes from the same direction, and falls into our road (see *Papers*, i. 193, 195, and map iv.).

The castle of Passerano stands upon a rock which forms the extreme N. end of a ridge known as the Colle S. Angelo. What is naturally a strong position has been strengthened still further by the hand of man, the rock having been hewn and scarped in all directions, so that the castle is only accessible from the N. and S. ends by steep paths.

In the castle walls are many blocks of yellow tufa 0·38—0·40 mètre in height, which may, or may not, have belonged to fortifications of the classical period, if such existed. Here, as so often, we find it somewhat difficult to decide whether the fortification of the site is Latin or mediaeval in origin. The problem is here made more difficult by the fact that the southern tower, which is pentagonal, contains on four of its sides a considerable amount of construction in opus reticulatum with small rectangular stone quoins. It is quite improbable that there was any occasion to fortify the place at the time when opus reticulatum was in use: and it is very likely that we have here the remains of a lofty view tower belonging to a villa which occupied the site in Roman times, and incorporated by the builders of the mediaeval fortress into their scheme of defence.

Nibby (*Analisi*, iii. 67) is inclined to identify Passerano with Scaptia, a city which was a member of the league for the restoration of the Tarquins (Dionys. v. 61) and later on gave its name to one of the Roman tribes.

[1] The name appears in the 11th century ('Annales Romaines 1044–1073' in *Lib. Pont.* ed. Duchesne, ii. 335).

It was supposed to have been dependent on Pedum from the traditional reading of a passage of Festus (p. 343 Müll.), 'Scaptia tribus a nomine urbis Scaptiae appellata, quam Pedani incolebant.' But Pedani is due to a conjecture of Ursinus, Müller preferring Latini. It was clearly quite a small town, being one of the many cities of Latium which Pliny (*H.N.* iii. 68) names as having utterly disappeared. The site of Pedum is itself uncertain (*Papers*, i. 205), and if we refuse, as we must in default of further evidence, to connect Scaptia with it, we can have no notion of its position.

A mile or more beyond Passerano our road is crossed by a deverticulum from the Via Praenestina (described *Papers*, i. 204). The cutting for this by-road is clearly traceable as it ascends the steep side of the Colle Selva, on the N.W. of our road, but beyond the top of the ridge I have not been able to follow it.

Continuing to follow the valley, we reach in a mile and a half more (nearly three miles from Passerano) the Osteria di Cavamonte, where our road crosses the Via Praenestina. Its course beyond this point is described in *Papers*, i. 205, 267.

IV.—FROM PONTE LUCANO TO TIBUR.

Between Ponte Lucano and the so-called Tempio della Tosse the course of the Via Tiburtina is not certain: for the first mile it passes over gently rising ground, which has probably been uninterruptedly under cultivation; but it is most likely that it ran at first along or slightly to the left of the line of the modern road, and then coincided more or less with the lane which ascends to the Tempio della Tosse in a N.E. direction.

Five hundred yards from the Ponte Lucano two large tombs stand on the S. side of the highroad, both of them forming the foundations of modern houses. They are square, and built of blocks of travertine; the base of each contained a chamber at the ground level, while the upper part was adorned with a large bas-relief. The better preserved of the two still retains its relief, which is of Parian marble, and represents a man holding a horse by the bridle.[1] The heads of both figures have been removed. The relief belonging to the other tomb, which is in a more ruinous condition, is now in the Villa Albani (see Helbig, *Führer*, ii. 782). It represents

[1] See Piranesi, *Antichità Romane*, ii. tav. 38, 39, for plan and view. Cf. Helbig, *Führer*, ii. no. 823 (who speaks as if this relief were no longer in existence).

the favourite pursuits of the deceased. Cabral and del Re (*op. cit.* 48) state on the authority of Gaetano Mattia that it was a relief of a lion fighting with a horse that belonged to this tomb and passed into the collection of Card. Alessandro Albani.

A third tomb of similar design stood near here in the time of Ligorio (*Cod. cit.* f. 116^{v}, cf. *Cod. Vat.* 5295 f. 31^{v}) : the bas-relief, representing a large lion, is now preserved in the Palazzo Barberini in Rome (see Matz and von Duhn, *Antike Bildwerke,* iii. 3785 ; Wolters, *Gipsabgusse*, 1922 ; Friedrichs, *Bausteine*, 924). Elevations of all the three tombs are given by Giuliano da Sangallo, *Cod. Barb.* xlix. 33 (now 4424), f. 41. *C.I.L.* xiv. 3817 was discovered at a gunshot distance from these tombs.[1]

[1] Ligorio (*Bodl. Canon.* 138, f. 117) gives the following particulars : 'Di un altro sepolcro guastò. Questo altro è uicino al sopra detto del quale hoggi non ui è rimasto nulla, perche noi di ueduta le havemo uisto guastare, et il pilo è ben uero che era gittato a terra rottissimo, ma l'arco che il tencua pensile è stato uenduto et toltone uia i sassi dalli tiuolesi : et per esser bella compositione, e' di inuentione no' ho' percio lasciato che io non lo habbia qui disegnato, che se la fortuna lo ha' fatto spianare, non ha potuto pero far tanto, che non habbiamo potuto col mezzo della carta è del inghiostro fare che non ne sia affatto spenta la memoria : il pilo poteua esser longho XV piedi, et largo VI alto otto piedi.' The sketch which should have accompanied this description is wanting in the MS., and as the passage quoted comes immediately after that cited *supra*, 113, it is possible that the reference is to a tomb near the 9th mile : but as the first and third of the three tombs of which we have been speaking form the main subject with which Ligorio is dealing, it is possible that he is here describing a fourth member of the same group, especially as he states that it was the people of Tivoli who destroyed it.

On the other hand, it is to be noted that Zappi says nothing of the destruction of any tomb, and speaks only of the three mentioned in the text (f. 135^{v}) :

'in luogo doue si dice Serena, ui si ritrouano tre bellissime Memorie antique, e rare come ui dirò, si ritroua principalmente un Leone di Marmo del Naturale in un Posamento Rileuato in alto da 35 Palmi in circa, questo Posamento si ritroua esser fatto di quadri di Pietra Tiburtina. Ma il Leone resta scolpito in un quadro di Marmo per ogni faccia da 12 palmi in circa, doppo si ritroua un altra Memoria di un Cauallo, et di un homo grande del Naturale. . . . La Terza Memoria sono doi Statue rileuate in alto da 30 palmi con il Mede(si)mo posamento, Ma discosto l'una Memoria all' altra da 60 Palmi, e tra esse due Figure ui si ritrouano una Roba Tonda, et si uede essere posata sopra una Tauola . . .

'Son forzato dire che quella Memoria del Cauallo tenuto da quel homo per le Redini della Briglia si ritrouauano di tanta Vaga Bellezza che gli forno leuate le Teste ad Ambedue . . . da un Gran. Sig. Caualiere nel tempo della Guerra di Papa Pauolo quarto dell' Anno 1557, che di rincontro alle d(ett)e tre Memorie notabili ui si ritrouauano li soldati, et esercito del . . . Re filippo Re di Spagna, gouernato sotto . . . il Duca d'Alba.'

Bartoli (*Gli antichi Sepolcri*, tav. 47, 48, 49) gives views of all these tombs—the last after a drawing by Pietro da Cortona.

It would also be interesting to know whether Zappi saw a more direct road from Ponte Lucano to the Villa Adriana than any of which we know at present—say along the path from the bridge to the easternmost of the two houses marked C. Galli on the map, where at present there are no traces of antiquity. He speaks (f. 137^{v}) of two roads starting from the tomb of the Plautii, the one going to Tivoli, 'e l'altra uerso la Gran uilla di Adriano Imperatore discosta Mezzo Miglio secondo che si uedono li Vestigij delle Siricate [*sic*, for Selciate] Antique accosto alla d^{a} Mole.'

The name Serena, which belongs to this place, has naturally been supposed by the earlier writers on the antiquities of Tivoli to conceal the name of the owners of the tombs or of a villa near them, in classical times. To such identifications little or no real value attaches.

It has been strongly held (especially by Nibby, *Descrizione della Villa Adriana*, 15, *Analisi*, iii. 661—though in his earlier work, *Viaggio Antiquario*, i. 119, he rejects the theory) that the two tombs still standing are not really tombs at all, but are pillars flanking the main entrance to the Villa of Hadrian, which lies half a mile to the S.

This view is, however, rejected by Sebastiani, *op. cit.* 222, for several reasons, the most cogent among which is the fact that the two buildings are by no means identical in size; and Winnefeld (*Jahrbuch des Instituts, Ergänzungsheft* iii., 24) is of this opinion. Even if an ancient road passed between these two tombs and led to the Villa of Hadrian (as Sebastiani, *op. cit.* 224, tells us, on the authority of the tenant of the vineyard—cf. Promis, *op. cit.* 35) this would be no argument in favour of Nibby's theory. Revillas in his map marks a paved road running S.S.E. immediately to the E. of them both. The modern path to the W. of them shows no certain traces of antiquity, though there are a few paving-stones in it—not *in situ*. It is noticeable, however, that it soon falls at right angles into a road which certainly is ancient. This road has its pavement still preserved *in situ* immediately to the N.E., and beyond the Casale Leonina ascends in a straight line up the hill to the S. end of the town of Tivoli, where its pavement was discovered in 1883 just outside the Porta S. Croce (*Notizie degli Scavi*, 1883, 17). Going in a south-westerly direction, on the other hand, the road bends slightly to the S., passes through some cuttings in the rock which are indubitably ancient, and falls into the road to Corcolle and Cavamonte (*supra*, 128).

Nicolas Audebert is probably referring in the following passage (*Brit. Mus. MS. Lansdowne*, 720, f. 306) to a discovery of sarcophagi, and not to the tombs of which we have spoken:

'Peu plus loing [than Ponte Lucano] on veoit a coste du chemin dedans une vigne un reste de peinture antique qui est contre un vieil mur tout ruiné et y a quelques sepultures et urnettes coñe cercueils, en facon d'un long coffre, capable d'un homme y estendu, Le tout de fort beau marbre blanc, avec facons de sculpture et aultres ouvrages par dehors. Aussy se veoit un peu plus loing et plus proche du chemin un vieil marchepied ou montoir de pierre contre lequel est grave l'Epitaphe d'une mule de Crassus . . .

Dis Pedib. Saxum
Cinciae Dorsiferae et Cluniferae'

(naturally a forgery—*C.I.L.* vi. 3443a*). He also notices (f. 307) that the ancient paving was well preserved along the road to the Villa of Hadrian, but he is not precise as to its exact course.

To the S. of the Casale Leonina lies the colossal Villa of Hadrian, which extends as far as the Villa Bulgarini, or, according to some, as far as the Colle S. Stefano, where there are considerable remains. The villa has been most fully and carefully described and planned by Winnefeld, who gives a complete bibliography (*Jahrbuch des Instituts, Ergänzungsheft* iii., 1895), so that it seems hardly necessary to say anything more on the subject.

The buildings on the Colle S. Stefano, which are shown in Piranesi's plan, and described by almost all the authors who have written upon the villa (see especially Sebastiani, *op. cit.* 300 *sqq.*; Nibby, *Analisi*, iii. 703 *sqq.*), are not considered to belong to the Villa of Hadrian by Winnefeld (*op. cit.* 24). They are separated from the rest of the villa by an interval of quite half a mile; and the evidence of a recently discovered inscription (see *Bull. Com.* 1899, 32) makes it very probable that they form a separate villa, which belonged to the Vibii Vari. Some parts of the building certainly belong to the time of Hadrian, from the brickstamps found there.

The main structure is a large rectangular building facing the S.W.; along the W.N.W. and S.S.E. sides runs a cryptoporticus, which on the latter is double; its ceiling and walls were decorated with plaster, on which portraits of Greek poets, with their names beneath in swallow-tailed tablets, were painted in squares. Some fragments of these paintings were, according to the text to Contini's plan (Kircher, *Vetus Latium*, cap. xiv. no. 9), presented to Cardinal Francesco Barberini. Sebastiani (*op. cit.* 302) was able to read the names of Pindar and Simonides; but the paintings are by now almost entirely obliterated.

Above and behind the cryptoporticus extends a large terrace, supported on the E.S.E. side by substructures, while on the N.N.E. it is on a level with the top of the hill. This terrace was the site of the palace itself, and at the end of the 18th century De Angelis found a peristyle in the centre, with remains of rooms on each side, and a fountain on the W.S.W. Sebastiani saw a fragment of black and yellow mosaic on the same side, but now all traces of the structures which occupied this upper terrace have disappeared, except a chamber at the S.S.W. angle, which is remarkable for its extraordinarily irregular construction. Opus reticulatum with bands of brick is seen in the same wall as very roughly cut bits of tufa laid in a thick bedding of mortar; Winnefeld, however (*op. cit.* 26), calls attention to this mixture of modes of construction in many parts of the

Villa of Hadrian itself. The chamber is rectangular in shape, and has a rectangular niche between two windows opposite the door, and a semi-circular niche on each of the two other sides: these two niches are not built in the thickness of the wall, but project from it on the outside. The substructures present other irregularities. It is possible, as Nibby suggests, that this chamber is a view tower. Mr. Baddeley, however, considers that it may be a temple or shrine: and some colour is given to this view by the discovery close by it of a marble tablet bearing the words

L V C V
SANCTV

in letters of the second century A.D. The tablet measures 21 cm. square, and the letters are 45 mm. high: it has been presented by Mr. Baddeley to the School. It must have served to mark the actual confines of a sacred grove, but the form and wording are somewhat remarkable. Sanctus, however, though less common than sacer, is not unknown in this sense (cf. Lewis and Short, s. v. sanctus: 'Sanctus. orig. rendered sacred, established as inviolable, *i.e.* sacred, inviolable (whereas sacer signifies consecrated to a deity). Thus, *e.g.*, a temple, grove, or the like, is sacer locus; but sanctus locus is any public place which it is forbidden to injure or disturb. A sacer locus is also sanctus, but the converse is not always true').

To the S.E. of this terrace and prolonging its N.E. side runs a substruction wall strengthened by buttresses. At the end of this is a building generally called an amphitheatre, oval in form, with four or five concentric walls only a foot apart: its construction is very rough, of small rectangular blocks of tufa set in thick courses of mortar, but it is probably of Roman date, and may be a large open water reservoir. Petronselli, in a letter to Revillas of Nov. 18, 1740, speaks of a branch aqueduct coming to this reservoir from one of the great aqueducts near Gericomio: it was $2\frac{1}{4}$ feet in width. The reservoir itself, he remarks, has a channel about $1\frac{1}{2}$ foot wide running all round it, which leaves it in a northerly direction; and in this branch aqueduct was found a brick bearing the stamp

which should no doubt be read TI · LOLLI · ANICI, but which I have not been able to identify with any brickstamp hitherto known.[1]

In the reservoir itself Petronselli saw a marble cippus, 2 palms (about 45 cm.) wide, broken, and with the surface worn in places, bearing the following fragmentary inscription:

He also notes the discovery of four bricks about 45 cm. square and 4 cm. thick, bearing the stamp *C.I.L.* xv. 359 (123 A.D.), of which he gives a facsimile, and Viola (*Giorn. Arcad.* cxix. (1849–50), 294) records the discovery of several copies of it here.

Further to the S.E. apparently Petronselli notes the existence of a paved road (*infra*, 197) in a vineyard—he writes as follows: 'nel piano dei medesimi colli (di S. Stefano) nel terreno della Mensa Vescovale di Tivoli confine col territorio di questa terra[2] si vede una traversa di strada antica con li soliti pietroni neri pare questa dirigga verso Giricomio, Nella qual Vigna si trovano molte sostruzioni a opera reticolata, et in specie una stanza con l'intonacatura di tre once, dipinta a specchi, col pavimento di musaico finissimo, e questo si trova ancora nella piaza avanti il Casale. Alla destra della strada Romana 30 palmi lontano dal d° Casale, dentro la vigna 20 palmi sotterra si è scoperto sostruttioni di opera grandiosa cioè di massi di peperino alcuni sono alti palmi tre longhi palmi 8 larghi palmi $2\frac{1}{2}$ intonacati e dipinti. In questo scavo 15 palmi sotterra si è trovato il pavimento su la terra, fatto a astrico grosso mezzo palmo, si che l'altri cinque palmi è fondamento della fabrica e cio è certo anche dalla struttura dei massi i quali sotto il d° astrico o pavimento sono rustici.'

The reference is probably to the road mentioned by Bulgarini (*infra*, 147), though he goes on to say, 'nel giardinetto inferiore di questo

[1] At the end of the second line Petronselli notes 'le lettere mancanti sono corrose,' but he only leaves a space for two letters more at most, and shows no traces of a third line.

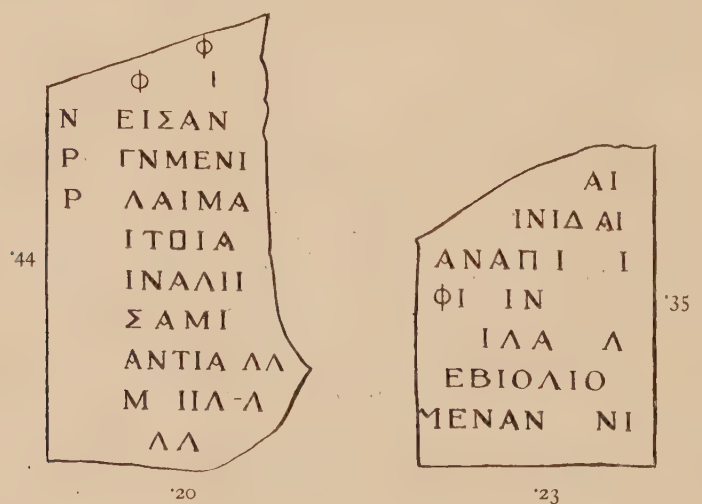
[2] He refers to the village to which he belonged—S. Gregorio (*supra*, 134).

Palazzo vi è una Mascara [*sic*] antica di marmo alta palmi tre, et un onza . . . con bocca aperta . . . con alcuni ornamenti d'intorno. Et una lapide parimenti di marmo alta palmi 5 larga palmi $3\frac{1}{4}$, con quattro fasci a bassorilievo . . . nel mezo di ciascuno vi è una testa d'Ariete, collegati con alcuni ornamenti di fascie.' Now, 'questo Palazzo' must refer to Gericomio: but the vigna, one would suppose, is that on the Colli di S. Stefano, and not one attached to Gericomio. The passage is, however, not quite clear.

To the N. of the reservoir is a building called the 'triclinium' by Piranesi, which is, however, in reality the baptistery of a church, from which the name Colle S. Stefano very likely originated.[1] In the vineyard in which it stands are three recently excavated marble columns: we were told that many bodies had been found, which points to the existence of a Christian burying-ground.[2] The so-called 'temple of Minerva' to the N.W. of this again is also a later building, though to the W. of it are some ancient reservoirs. Further away to the S.E. of the group of buildings hitherto described is a large open water reservoir, trapezoidal in shape, and partly sunk below ground level: it is faced with brickwork

[1] The plan (a simple hexagon) is given by Dehio and v. Bezold, *Kirchliche Baukunst des Abendlandes*, t. i. fig. 10.

[2] Two fragments of a Greek inscription, cut on a slab of white marble, are built into the stairs of the cottage in the vineyard. I have not been able to obtain a satisfactory reading of them, as they are much worn, and therefore give the text with all reserve. The letters are 2 cm. high.



in this portion, and with opus reticulatum with tufa quoins above (the whole wall being lined with opus signinum), and was, according to Piranesi, entered by a flight of steps on each side. On the N.W. side of this reservoir, and a few yards from it, are two putei, 3 or 4 feet square, of opus reticulatum, which must belong to a subterranean aqueduct[1] which ran from this reservoir either to the other or directly to the villa. To the N. of this, in a vineyard, are the scanty remains of another building—a platform of opus incertum with much brick, etc., about. Another fragment of the inscription of the Vibii Vari (*Bull. Com.* 1899, 32) is walled into a modern building here. This villa is very likely the 'edificio incognito' of Piranesi's plan (vi. 20). The importance of the remains on the Colle S. Stefano is shown by the existence of two ancient roads which pass over the Fosso di Ponte Terra, the deep ravine which runs on the S. side of the hill. The easternmost of these crosses a natural bridge called the Ponte Terra. This spans a cleft in the rock, through which the stream passes : if the channel is not entirely artificial, it has evidently been enlarged by the hand of man, as the roof has been cut quite flat. The channel is about 200 feet in length, 30 in height, and 6 in width. Parallel to it runs the specus of an aqueduct, cut in the rock, 0·51 mètre wide and 1·85 mètre high.

The road ran across this bridge upon a substructure of opus quadratum of tufa ; three courses of blocks 2 feet in height and thickness may be seen on the E. side. The pavement of the road is clearly traceable in the descent on the N. side ; it was very narrow—not more than 2 mètres in width. Bulgarini (*op. cit.* 127, see also the map) speaks of an ancient road running from the villa towards Gericomio, which had been discovered in his time ; and Petronselli also refers to it. Whether the road, after ascending to the plateau S. of the ravine, led to S. Vittorino or no is quite uncertain.

The other road crossed the ravine nearly a mile further to the W., by an enormous viaduct (Fig. 14) (unknown apparently to Petronselli), which has been supposed by some authors (see Bulgarini, *loc. cit.*) to be an aqueduct bridge, but certainly carried a road, and not an aqueduct. Canina (*Edifizi*, vi. tav. 170) gives a plan, sketch, and restoration of it,[2] and (v. p. 190) states that the ancient paved road could be seen on both

[1] Petronselli thought that this aqueduct came from the bridge at Pomata (*infra*, 195).

[2] A much better sketch is given by Lanciani, *Bull. Com.* 1899, 35.

sides of it. No traces of pavement now remain, but the road is clearly seen ascending the S. bank of the ravine; and a countryman told us that some of the pavement was actually preserved at the crossing of the next stream to the S.

Also, the bridge is no less than 4·10 mètres in width, and there are no traces of the specus of an aqueduct, nor of any calcareous water deposit. There are two tiers of arches—a single arch across the stream, 7·95 mètres in height, with a span of 6·75 mètres, while in the upper tier there are four arches, the height of the whole structure being 17 mètres. It is built of concrete, faced with small tufa blocks and bricks, arranged alternately, and the construction is very solid.

Returning, after this long digression, to the Via Tiburtina, which we left not far beyond Ponte Lucano (*supra*, 140), we find many paving-stones of selce built into the fieldwall N. of the modern road, S. of the Casale Spirito Santo, which have very likely been removed from the ancient road. Revillas, in fact, marks paving *in situ* up to this point. Not far on was found the inscription published by Lanciani (*Bull. Com.* 1899, 30). Revillas in the legend to his map (though on the map itself the reference letter has, by some error, not been inserted) indicates the existence of 'a fragment of a milestone near the tomb of L. Licinius' (*i.e.*, *C.I.L.* xiv. 3795), which in *Sched. Berol.* he locates 'prope Sepulcrum triangulare in via vetere Tiburtina quod distat ab Ponte Lucano pass. D C et a Teverone pass. C circiter.' The old road, as we have said (*supra*, 140), ascended in a fairly straight line towards the so-called Tempio della Tosse.[1] This was shown to be the case by the discovery in 1735 or 1736 of the inscription *C.I.L.* xiv. 3582: 'Beatissimo saeculo dominorum nostrorum Constanti et Constantis Augustorum Senatus Populusque Romanus Clivum Tiburtinum in planitiem redegit curante L. Turcio Secundo Aproniani Praef(ecto) Urb(i) fil. Asterio C(larissimo) v(iro) Correctore Flam(iniae) et Piceni.' This inscription was found on the right-hand (the S.) side of the road, at or near the site of the 18th milestone,

[1] The lane which runs on the left of what we have assumed to be the line of the ancient road is called Carrara di Paterno. The name Paterno is an old one: the act of donation to the church of S. M. de Cornuta, of the year 471, published by Bruzza, *Regesto della Chiesa di Tivoli*, 15, and Duchesne, *Lib. Pont.* i. cxlvi., mentions 'fundum Paternum maranus [*sic*], fundum Mons Paternus': and though this locality may not be referred to in that document, it seems to be certainly spoken of in the second document published by Bruzza, a Bull of Marinus II (945), in which the property of the cathedral of Tivoli is mentioned (p. 20, l. 25, fundum paterno), as also in a document of 942 A.D. (*Reg. Subl.* f. 171, Bruzza, p. 117), and in subsequent bulls (*supra*, 129, n.).

a little before the Tempio della Tosse is reached, on the somewhat steep ascent which the road now has to make, and it has been re-erected at the spot where it was found. If it was found *in situ*, Dessau (*C.I.L. loc. cit.*) is surely wrong in referring it to the relaying of the steep ascent from the Ponte dell' Acquoria, and not to the road with which we are now dealing. Bruzza (*Regesto della Chiesa di Tivoli*, 106) interprets it as referring to the road which we are now following.[1] A little higher up on the right-hand side of the road is the so-called Tempio della Tosse, an octagonal structure, with a domed roof, faced with opus mixtum, and belonging probably to the 4th century after Christ.

The interior is circular, with four curved and four rectangular niches, in one of the latter of which (that towards the road) is the doorway. Above each of the niches is a large window, and in the centre of the dome is a circular opening. On either side of the door is a rectangular chamber, in each of which are three small niches. Traces of Christian paintings of the 13th century may still be seen. The purpose of the building has been much discussed. The traditional name, 'Tempio della Tosse,' is of unknown origin, and it is very likely that the building was originally constructed as a tomb. A plan of it was made by Giuliano da Sangallo (*Cod. Barb.*, 4424, f. 30^{v}). Canina (*Edifizi*, vi. tav. 123) gives a plan and view of it. (Cf. also Isabelle, *Édifices circulaires*, pl. 24, 53 ; Dehio and v. Bezold, i. 24, and t. i. fig. 11.) Close to it was found a marble pavement (Bulgarini, *op. cit.* 99), and the inscriptions *C.I.L.* xiv. 3535, 3679 were discovered not far off.

Revillas refers to a Mithraic relief found near it in the following terms in the draft of a work on Tibur, preserved among his papers :

'Penes saepe laudatum Paullum Columnam, qui illud ab effossore praetio comparavit, Tibure adservatur ; ejusque heic schema exhibemus.

'Tauri in antro veluti expirantis pars antica in hocce Anaglyphi fragmento repraesentatur. Juvenis ante Taurum tiaram phrygiam capite gestans, brevique tunica indutus facem versus terram deprimit. Supra hunc in sinistro Tabulae superiori angulo Luna exculpta inter cornua visitur. Gruterus[2] porro quinque describit similia prorsus marmora : Monfauconius[3]

[1] A precisely similar inscription (*C.I.L.* xiv. 3583) refers to the restoration of an unknown bridge, for the inscription was not found *in situ*, though the Ponte dell' Acquoria is not improbably referred to.

[2] Gruter, *Pag.* xxxiv.

[3] Montfauc. *Antiq. Explan.* tom. i. 2. 373 *sqq.* (Paris, 1722).

novem exhibet in quibus ferme omnibus Mithras Tauro insidens, cultroque ipsum jugulans exprimitur. Et praeter Lunam in sinistro angulo, ut heic expressam, Juvenemque sub ea, facem gestantem, Sol in dextro angulo conspicitur ; ac sub eo pone Taurum alter Juvenis facem pariter, sed contrario sensu aut deprimens aut erigens : qui quidem duo Juvenes duos alios Mithras, orientem videlicet, occidentemque Solem (sicuti qui medius est, Taurumque calcat, Solem meridianum) repraesentant, ut Mythologorum eruditiores arbitrantur. Solem itaque, seu Mithram, nostrum quoque marmor exhibet : et ni fallimur novo testimonio Templum de quo agimus Soli adjudicat.'

In the long description of the building itself, which precedes, he states his belief that the original entrance was on the S., and that the building itself was a temple of the Sun (arguing partly from the evidence of *C.I.L.* xiv. 3535), the seven niches denoting the seven planets.

A little higher up the hill our road is joined by that ascending from the Ponte dell' Acquoria (see below), and passes under the huge substructures of the so-called Villa of Maecenas (probably a building connected with the temple of Hercules) by an arched passage, lighted by square apertures in the vault, the construction of which is recorded in the duplicate inscriptions *C.I.L.* xiv. 3667/8.

The history of this building is of great interest, and many important problems are connected with it, but as it is not our purpose to deal at present with the city of Tibur itself, which we have now reached, nor to examine the Via Valeria beyond Tibur, nor the upper part of the valley of the Anio, it only remains to speak of the topography of the western slopes of the mountains which enclose Tivoli on the N. and S., and thus complete our survey of this section of the Roman Campagna.

V.—THE TERRITORY OF TIBUR ON THE N.

(from Tivoli by the Ponte dell' Acquoria to Montecelio, S. Angelo and Palombara).

The road which descends to the Ponte dell' Acquoria from Tivoli leaves the Via Tiburtina on its left just below the so-called Villa of Maecenas, and at once begins to slope steeply down to the bridge, a shelf having been cut in the cliff to carry it. The pavement, 4·06 metres in width, is well

preserved, and so are the substructures, partly of opus quadratum, partly of opus reticulatum, which support the earth on the upper (S.) side of the road. See Canina, *Edifizi*, vi. tav. 38: he justly remarks (v. p. 106, n. 7) on the absence of wheelmarks, which would seem to indicate that in later times, at least, it was not the highroad to Tibur.

At the bottom of the slope, opposite the bridge, is a large cave, commonly known as the Tempio del Mondo, which has been artificially enlarged, and has three niches cut at the further end of it. The purpose which it served is quite uncertain. In 1839 the front of it fell in (Rinaldi, *Guida a Tivoli*, 42). A few hundred yards to the W., facing the river, is the platform which supported a large villa, constructed of concrete faced with courses of chips of surface travertine, arranged in eight vertical bands, each about 2 feet high. In the wall are two drain holes, one arched with eight dark tufa voussoirs with a travertine keystone.

The Ponte dell' Acquoria (Canina, *loc. cit.*) must originally have had several arches, though only one, at the N. end, is now completely preserved, all further traces of the rest of the Roman bridge having been washed away by the river (there are, however, traces of a brick arch of later date, and still further S. there are two mediaeval arches of concrete, which served as approach to the older bridge, now swept away entirely). This arch is half buried by the mud that has accumulated beneath it: it is constructed of large blocks of travertine (Fig. 15). The total width of the bridge—including the parapets—is 6·1 mètres: the eastern parapet (of which two courses are preserved) is 0·8 mètre wide; so that the width of the roadway (the pavement of which has completely disappeared) was 4·5 mètres—just over 15 Roman feet—a trifle narrower than the average for a bridge on a highroad. At the S. end of the bridge there is a mass of concrete on each side, probably belonging to a mediaeval tower erected to guard it. At the N. end of the bridge the pavement of the road as it winds up the hill is still well preserved, as far as a chapel where the road to S. Pastore and Vitriano goes off due N. At the bottom of the hill close to the bridge on the E. is a garden, where in 1861 a statue of Aesculapius, some architectural fragments, and the lead pipe bearing the inscription *C.I.L.* xiv. 3702 (= *C.I.L.* xv. 7903) were discovered. Halfway up the ascent is the large square core of a tomb in concrete. Near this tomb was found a columbarium in 1749 or 1750 (*C.I.L.* xiv. 3714, 3715); and the foundations of a third tomb, nearer the Ponte dell' Acquoria, are mentioned by Cabral and del Re

(*op. cit.* 106) as hardly traceable. Marzi (*Historia Ampliata di Tivoli* (1665), 4) probably refers to the same tomb: 'essendo gli anni andati stato dalla violenza dell' acque dirupato il (ponte) murato insieme col sepolcro di Celio, che a capo di esso in forma di baloardo sorgeua.'

If the view of many topographers (*supra*, 108) be accepted—that the original Via Tiburtina ran by the Aquae Albulae across the plain to the Ponte dell' Acquoria—it would have joined the road we have been describing just to the W. of this group of tombs, at the chapel at the top of the ascent from the bridge. I have followed, however, both the path that runs close to the N. bank of the Anio, and finally reaches Ponte Lucano, and that which runs north-westwards to the Ponte delle Vigne. The first is, apparently, entirely modern; along the course of the second are, as I have said (*supra*, 110), a few paving-stones (not *in situ*); but the evidence seems insufficient to allow us to suppose the course of the highroad here.

The road to S. Pastore and Vitriano, on the other hand, is undoubtedly ancient. The cutting made for it close to the chapel is probably of Roman date, and the fact that after this it runs in an absolutely straight line for a mile and a half is another strong proof of its antiquity; it is also noticeable that many paving-stones exist in the fieldwall on the E. side of it.[1] The district to which it leads abounds with the remains of large villas, most of which are built upon two or three terraces, supported by massive walls on three sides, while the fourth side is formed by the hill rising behind the terrace. These walls frequently perpetuate the Cyclopean style of masonry: but that these embanking walls were constructed for the villas, and are not remains of primitive cities or settlements adapted in later times, is clear from many indications—from the careful jointing of the blocks, from the conjunction of this style of masonry with opus incertum and reticulatum, and not least from the fact that, while excellently adapted to support the terraces of Roman villas, they are utterly unsuited for the fortresses or

[1] The following extract from the bull of Benedict vii. (978), published by Bruzza, *Regesto della Chiesa di Tivoli*, may be of interest (p. 33, l. 32): 'miliario a suprascripta civitate plus minus quinto. in campo maiore. Ab uno latere staphiliano. Et a secundo latere silice in qua est ponticello. Et a tertio latere crepidinis. Et a quarto latere piranis. Et a quinto latere columella.' Cf. a document of 990 A.D. (p. 40, l. 10): 'partem terra sementaricia in fundum qui sancto valentino . . . nuncupatur. cum predicta æcclesia infra se. cum gripte et parietinis suis antiquis in ruini positi . . . posita territorio tiburtino miliario a civitati tyburtina plus minus tertius. Inter affines ab uno latere incipientem a staphile lapideum deinde venientem per via publica, etc.' The road referred to is in both cases that leading N. from the Ponte dell' Acquoria (Bruzza, p. 174 *fin.*), and the 'campus maior' is the flat ground to the W. of it and of the Colle Nocelle.

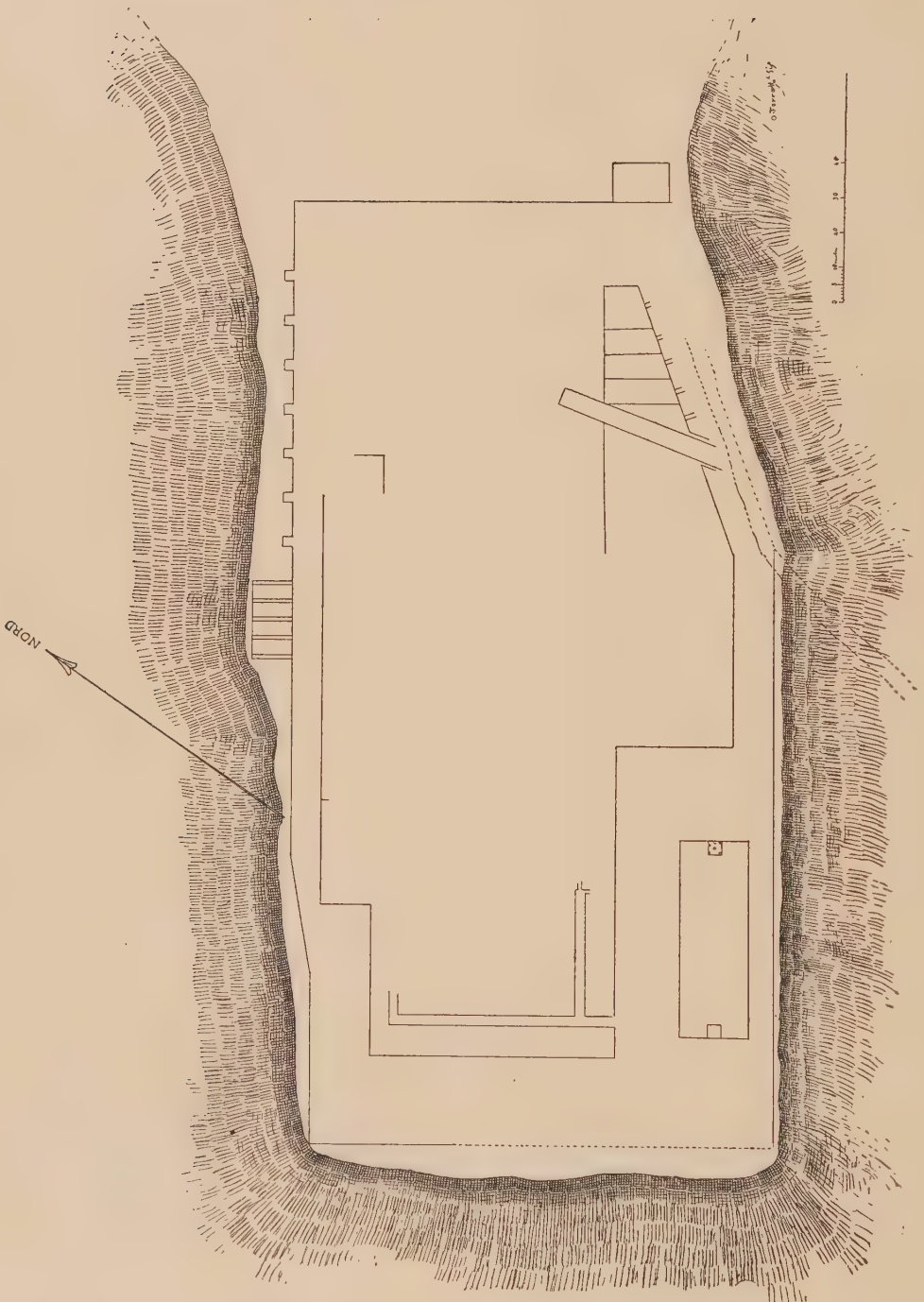
villages of a primitive people.[1] The unwalled side being in all cases that which rests against the hill, they would have been utterly impossible to defend unless the enemy confined themselves to frontal attacks from below! The true use of these walls was seen by Pirro Ligorio, who, in an interesting passage (*Bodl. Canon.* 138, f. 85^{v}), compares with the 'rustica' work of the great double arch of the Aqua Claudia and Anio Novus which is now known as the Porta Maggiore 'simili muri nelli luoghi che sostengono terra, per fare de poggi et elevazioni, simili a quei che si uedono in Tiuoli, nella uilla di Caio Calligola, che si chiama Carciano, e nella Villa di Cassio, oue si dice Cassiano, a Roma nel portico nel montecelio di Tivertino, che sosteniua la curia Hostilia [the templum Divi Claudi], l'usarono anchora in alcuni ponti che adeguano le ualli sopra de torrenti e nei sepulcri nella prima parte(:) sopra di quella rozzezza poi edificauano altre opere polite di colonne et de pilastri, come si uede in uno monumento in Spoleti citta dell' Vmbria.'

There is one case known to me in which it can be demonstrated absolutely that a wall constructed in Cyclopean work belongs organically to the structure of a Roman villa; this is at Grotte di Torri (*supra*, 35).

On each side of the path to S. Pastore are the remains of villas overlooking the Anio: one, about a quarter of a mile to the E., known as the Villa of Cynthia (the name is, as usual, quite arbitrary, though Albert, *De Villis Tiburtinis principe Augusto*, 53, is inclined to accept it), is built above the river on a cliff opposite to the so-called Villa of Maecenas. It has a lofty platform of opus incertum, which is arranged in bands 72 cm. high, and appears to have been extensive, but of the villa itself (as is generally the case) but little remains, the cultivation of olives being largely responsible for its destruction. In 1778 a fine mosaic pavement and a few small statues were discovered here (Cabral and del Re, *op. cit.* 105; Bulgarini, *op. cit.* 97). (See Addenda, *infra*, 208.)

In August, 1819, excavations were made by Vescovali, which are described by Guattani (*Memorie enciclopediche per l'anno* 1817, 138) and Fea

[1] Some further remarks on the dating of Cyclopean masonry in Italy will be found in the description of La Civita, near Artena, by Dr. G. J. Pfeiffer and myself, which will shortly appear in the *Suppl. Papers of the American School of Classical Studies in Rome*, i. 87–107. Compare also the reports on the recent excavations at Norba, *Not. Scav.* 1901, 514–559; 1903, 229–262, and my paper on Monte Circeo in *Mélanges de l'École française*, 1905, 157 *sqq.*, and especially 181–186. In the last a distinction is drawn between Cyclopean and polygonal structures, the latter term being reserved for those in which an intentional avoidance of horizontal bedding is evident (*supra*, 132, n. 1).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(*Varietà di Notizie*, 166). A building was uncovered with six rooms with white mosaic pavements, one of which had a border with a meander in various colours, a portico about 15 palms (=3·33 mètres) by 40 palms (=8·88 mètres), with travertine bases and some remains of fluted travertine columns, coated with stucco and painted: then two rooms with marble pavements and, in each, three niches for statues—one room contained three statues of athletes, the other three Bacchic hermae. Next came six or seven more rooms with plain white mosaic pavements. A statue of a Faun with the nebris, and a draped seated female figure (perhaps a Muse) with the head let into the neck, the former being of different marble and inferior workmanship, were discovered here. At some distance a nymphaeum with three fountains was found, and a fountain figure of a boy with a vase on the left shoulder; also two other fountain figures, each representing a nude Faun seated on a rock (bought for the Vatican), and some rectangular marble pilasters with arabesque decorations in relief.[1]

To the N. of this villa, and a good deal higher, occupying a prominent position on a projecting shoulder of the mountain, is the enormous Villa of Quintilius Varus. The name Quintiliolo dates from the 10th century, according to Nibby (*Analisi*, iii. 222), fundum quintiliolum occurring in a Bull of Benedict VII (978), which has a list of the estates belonging to the see of Tivoli (Bruzza, *Regesto della Chiesa di Tivoli*, 32 *sqq.*); and Quintilius Varus, the friend of Horace, certainly had a villa at Tibur (Horace, *Carm.* i. 18, 1).

The villa was reached by a branch from the road leading to S. Pastore and Vitriano, and some of the paving-stones may still be seen in the fieldwalls; Promis (*op. cit.* 29) gives the width as 3·7 mètres. It had either two or three terraces one above the other—the third or uppermost, which is described by writers of the 18th century (*e.g.* Volpi, *Vetus Latium*, x. 253–259), has entirely disappeared (Albert, *op. cit.* 37), and it may never have existed, as Zappi (*infra*, 157) and Antonio del Re (*op. cit.* 97) speak of two terraces only, as does also Nibby (*loc. cit.*). A very fanciful restoration is given by Kircher (*Latium*, opp. p. 159); but a plan, so far as I know, does not exist. That which I now publish does not pretend to mathematical accuracy, but may serve to give a general idea.

[1] Below this villa to the W.N.W. is a large open water cistern, 17·8 mètres in diameter, with five buttresses on the W. side, where the ground slopes away. To the S. of the villa, close to the Anio, is another small one, rectangular in shape.

Upon the lower terrace, at the S. angle, there is a large rectangular tank, about two or three feet in depth, with a pedestal at each of the narrow ends, as if to support statues ; under that at the N.E. end is the fountain by which the tank was filled, under the S.W. end the channel by which it was emptied. Behind this piscina, in the substructures of the upper terrace, is a cryptoporticus. The supporting walls of both terraces are of great size and extent, and are constructed of concrete faced with opus incertum and reticulatum of travertine. A view of that of the S.W. end of the lower terrace is given in Fig. 16.

Many discoveries have been made here.[1] Ligorio (*Cod. Vat.* 5295, f. 4) thus describes a pavement of mosaic [2] found in his time : ' et quel ch' era piu bello di quante cose n'erano rimaste a' noi (nostri) giorni, fu quello artificioso lauor di Musaico, che . . . . ornaua il pauim^to^ d'una stanza che faceua inuidia ad ogni uaga et ecc^te^ pittura, doue è d'intorno, à tutta la quadratura un festone fatto di frondi di uiti di diuersi sorti piantate di uua, et d'altri frutti, con alc(un)e maschere interposti che troppo uaga cosa rappresentaua, et di dentro poi della riquadratura d'esso festone tutto il pauimento si uedeua pieno di tutti sorti di pesci, et animali che si truouano silvestri, come sono Cothurnici, quaglie, perdici, grui, Aquile, lepri, fagiani, pappagalli, et gallini, anatri fluviali et altri ucelli minuti, come sono passari, et ucelli cantarini. Doue era un quadro d'animali volatili, et doue quadri co' animali marittimi, come facessero una certa comparatione qual fusse piu nobile, l'una, o l'altra. Questo pauim^to^ la sciochezza degl' huomini che si truouano hoggidi ha fatto che ogni cosa è stata annullata, et portata a pezzi uia, tutto per l'ingordigia di quei che tirati dal guadagno per vendergli a quei altri che si dilettano dell' antichità, l'hanno portato altroue, et con ogni incuriosità dell' honesto hanno priuato quella mem(ori)a del suo luogo, et d'un corpo intero uago et utile, l'hanno smembrato, rotto et fatto inutile, et tutto il difetto è uenuto da quei che hanno hauuto per gli anni a dietro in gouerno il luogo. Pertanto riman priuato quel luogo della uisitation di molti che à posta ui ueniuano a uedere, et chi p [per] dilettarsi, chi p [per] imparare ui concorreuano da tutte le parti.' Antonio del Re (*op. cit.* 97)

[1] In the *Archivio Storica dell' Arte*, 1890, 196, Prof. Venturi gives some account of excavations made by Ippolito II d'Este in 1550–1560. About the former year a Hercules, a headless Venus, and another statue were found in Tivoli, the former being given to Ippolito's brother, Ercole I, Duke of Ferrara. About 1560, Pirro Ligorio was in charge of excavations at the Villa Adriana and the Villa of Quintilius Varus.

[2] The passage has been already published by Gori, *Archivio Storico di Roma*, iv. 256.

says that in his time hypocausts were found on the N. of the villa, and mosaic pavements in all parts, and tells us that in the time of Pius V (1566–1572) the marble known as Breccia di Quintiliolo began to be held in great repute, and that more than twenty loads of it were removed from this villa by Cardinal Montino (Furietti, *de Musivis*, 51, speaks of Cardinal Innocenzo de Monte), so that Marzi (*Historie Tiburtine*, 139) says, 'ne fece una grossa raccolta in modo, che di presente (1646) più non se ne trovano.'

The following passage of Zappi may be of interest :—

[f. 79] 'La Villa di Quintilio Varo .... Confina con la Montagna di Piauole, ma si possiede il piano, Con doi Aquidotti il Maggiore succede dall' Accqua Aniene, alto dieci Palmi, e sei largo fatto con gran disegno passa poi per la Strada Publica fatta per forza di Scarpello, e per porre la Strada in Piano passa sotto la Terra si come si uedono hoggi li Uestigij con il Tartaro prodotto da d^e Accque. L' altro Aquidotto passa per Mezzo della d^a Montagna per la quale si conduceua l'Accqua Martia[1] in la d^a Uilla [a description of the house of Mons. de Rosci on Monte Piavola and of that of Messer Emanuele Portoghese follows] .... [f. 80] (le Accque Aniene) seruiuano alle Peschiere et Anche in la intrata di essa Uilla, et Principalmente a quattro fontane oue hoggi si uedono le Nicchie alte trenta Palmi con il suo Uano Proportionate con una Loggia di sopra con Pauimento di Musaico, questo luogo era destinato per un cenacolo .... per esser sottoposto al Leuante, et oltre a questo participa, e gode quattro Belle Amene Viste. .... oltre di questo gode una Piazza di Cento passi longa e sessanta larga con una Loggia uerso Tramontana oue si ritroua in mezzo Una Peschiera, seguita poi uerso Mezzo Giorno la Prospettiua della Valle del fiume Aniene .... oue si Ritroua un altra Piazza quasi Riquatrata, et questo causa per [f. 80^v] essere la Uilla diuisa in tre Appartamenti con un altra Loggia, et un altra Bellissima Peschiera con diuersi ricettacoli di Accqua per i Pesci, accosto di una Muraglia di d^a Peschiera ui era anche nel Mede(si)mo Luogo Uicino un altra Piazza Magiore di quattrocento passi, e larga sessanta recinta intorno secondo si uedono li Vestigij con le Base e Colonne tronche, e rotte per terra: il Pauimento di essa Loggia era di tanta Bellezza che credo nel Mõdo sia stato Raro, e di ciò ne ragiono de Visu, e per tutto da Me proprio.

[1] He seems however to mean the Acqua di Piavola.

Notai ui era un luogo Riquadrato di quindici Palmi con un festone intorno fatto con Ogni sorte di frutti possibili, un Brauo, e bello Musaico, e secondo la qualità delli frutti così erano coloriti di si degno lauoro, che la Bona Memoria dell' Ill^{mo} e Reu^{mo} Sig. Guido Ascanio Sforza Cardinale Santafiore ui mandò da Roma molti mulattieri, et altri huomini li quali portano d^{o} Musaico, il festone di d^{o} Musaico era largo da due Palmi e Mezzo, e per ciascun cantone del quadro ui era una Maschera le quali faceuano tutte diuersi effetti di uago, e Raro lauoro, e nel Mede(si)mo luogo ui sono sottoposto quattro Logge una sottoposta a Tramontana uerso la Sabina, la secondo a Mezzo Giorno [f. 81] La Terza a Leuante, e la quarta sugetta a ponente, e tutte fatte con grande Artifitio. Ma in diuersi Luoghi di d^{a} Uilla Ui furono trouate una gran quantità di Brecce Orientali dico cosa Nobilissima, non dico Brecce ma gioie, era tanta gran quantità che elle faceuano più di Uenticinque some, e ciascheduna soma pesava più di ducento libre, le quali furno vendute in Roma a Molti e diuersi huomini per tre scudi la Soma per non essere conosciute, doppo che furono conosciute le stimano che le uoleuano più di Venticinque Mila Scudi, da huomini che ne haueuano cognittione, io ne hò uiste infinite, e tocche coi Mano . . . . delle quali ne fù donata una da Messer Gio. Dom^{o} Ciaccia a un certo Me^{o} Uincenzo Mancini da Tivoli dottore, et Auuocato in Roma la quale si ritroua di una grossezza simile ad una palla da Giuocare a Maglio, uaga, e polita che la traspare come gioia . . . . Ui furono trouate anche in d^{a} Villa sotto una Loggia [f. 81^{v}] una gran quantità di certe Monete e Medaglia di Argento di Valore di un Giulio L' una, in un Luogho di M^{r} Pirro Brigante Colonna, sotto d^{a} Villa di Quintilio, Gentilhomo Tiburtino; il quale Luogho egli fù destinato per Piantarui delle Vigne dato a Lauorare a diuersi homini della Città di Tiuoli, e un di quei Contadini Lauoratore Abruzzese Trouò le d^{e} Monete il quale si fuggi da Tiuoli, e Benche se ne ritrouano alcune con li Nomi come si intenderà qui sotto con alcune anche Belle imprese antique con suoi Riuersi li quali Meritano di essere notati come qui Uedrete.

C·CASSIVS — Il Riuerso un Carro Tirato a quattro con una Roma di sopra. (C. Cassius Longinus, about 109 B.C.: Babelon, *Monnaies de la République*, i. 325.)

P·CRASSVS·M·F·	Il Riuerso una Testa di donna con Pendente al Orecchio. (P. Licinius Crassus Dives, about 58 B.C.: Babelon, ii. 134.)
ROMA	Il Riuerso una donna con Una Palma in Mano.
FAVSTVS LATINVS	Il Riuerso un Carro con quattro Caualli con una figura con la Palma in mano. (Faustus Cornelius Sulla, about 64 B.C.: Babelon, i. 422.)
PANSA	Il suo Riuerso quattro Caualli che guardano un Carro, con una Figura con Palma in Mano. (C. Vibius Pansa, about 90 B.C.: Babelon, ii. 537 *sqq.*)
CENSVR	Il Riuerso un Carro con quattro Caualli una Figura sopra con Palma in Mano. (L. Marcius Censorinus, about 184 B.C.: Babelon, ii. 195.)

[f. 82^{v}] .˙. . 'In la Mede(si)ma Villa di Quintilio Varo doppo che io ne scrisse li suoi Vestigij, doppo certi Mesi Un Gentilhomo Citadino di Tiuoli chiamato M^{r} Ercole Ciaccia facendoui Lauorare per Piantarui una Vigna Oue si ritrouano Troncini diuersi, Statue, Colonne, Capitelli di Marmo et oltra di questo ui fù ritrouata una Colonna alta dodici Palmi Ma che dalle due Parti sù la Cima si ritrouaua a guisa di Piramide dico poi tonda, in la quale si uiddero di Belli, et Notabili Sugetti come gli dirò; sù alto della Colonna si uedeua un poco di Vano oue si ritrouaua un ferro che sustineua qualche Bella impresa Ma che al mezzo della d^{a} Colonna si uedeuano Sei Grillande di oliue Attaccate in certi Tronconi doppo si uede un Bastone alto tre Palmi simile a quelli che soleuano portare li Sig^{ri} Caporioni Romani quando si faceua il Gran Trionfo e Gioco di Testaccio auuoltoui a d^{o} Bastone uno Sciugatoio, Sotto poi si uedono sei figurine di Mezzo Rilievo compartite l'una auante l'altra alte da quattro Palmi incirca con le Braccia Aperte [f. 83] e le Gambe dislargate in dispositione uestite poi con li suoi panni, et uesti suelte le quali sono in somiglianza di Angeli . . . . . '

Domenico De Angelis excavated here in the olive plantation called 'La Montanara' in 1773 and 1776, and found a statue of Mercury as a boy (now in the Vatican—Visconti, *Mus. Pio Clementino*, Rome, 1782, vol. i. p. 6,

tav. v.) and a nude statue of a freedman (Bulgarini, *op. cit.* 96). Other excavations made on the same site by Vescovali in 1820 resulted in the discovery of two Fauns (now in the Vatican), a seated statue of Jupiter, a small Bacchus, and other fragments (Bulgarini, *ibid.*; Sebastiani, *op. cit.* 92); while in 1825 a statue of a sitting female was found in the villa, which is now in Cambridge (Fitzwilliam Museum, no. 36). Above the villa, close to the railway line, is the large reservoir which supplied it with water; this has once more returned to use, and now serves as a clearing tank for the Acqua Marcia Pia. Revillas in his diary for Sept. 30, 1728, describes it as having three aisles and 24 pilasters, with a total length of 46 paces and a width of 13 paces: in the vault nearest to the end wall a hole, 2 palms in diameter, to admit the water (? more probably a hole for ventilation), and at the foot of the wall at the opposite end a hole for its exit, leading to a conduit about $1\frac{1}{2}$ palm in diameter.

It is uncertain whether this reservoir was supplied in Roman times solely with spring-water, or whether the water of the Anio was also taken into it. For along the course of the Strada di Quintiliolo, which leads from Tivoli to this villa on the N. side of the Anio, two aqueducts are traceable. One, which derives its water from a spring near the monastery of S. Angelo in Piavola, may be seen running above the modern road towards this villa: the specus was open, 22 cm. wide by 20 deep, the whole of it being formed by a continuous channel of concrete. The vertical shaft (measuring 48 by 63 cm.) by which the water fell into the reservoir was preserved until 1903, when it was destroyed. An arch of about 18 feet span crossing a small gully by the road was removed when the railway was made.

The other, which was fed by the Anio, is larger, and runs beneath the road; its mouth was found in 1835, near the upper end of the new tunnels which now convey the water of the Anio through the rock and over the new fall. (See Folchi, *Diss. Accad. Pont. Arch.* vi. 64; Nibby, *Analisi*, iii. 213.) The specus was cut in the solid rock, but vaulted with masonry, large blocks of Gabine stone (1·25 × 0·53 × 0·53 mètre) forming, where the rock failed, the sides and bottom also. It measured 2·5 mètres high by 2 wide, and its floor was 5 mètres above the present river level. At intervals of 14 mètres it had rectangular putei of brickwork, measuring on an average 0·73 × 0·5 mètre. After 54 mètres from its mouth there was a distribution tank divided into four branches, two on each side, each 1 mètre to 1·7 mètre wide. The specus was found to be entirely choked with the heavy

deposit formed by the water, and fragments of sepulchral cippi[1] were also found in it. About 30 mètres to the N.W. of the shaft of the smaller aqueduct and on a slightly higher level there is a round-headed channel of concrete in the hillside 1·76 mètre wide, the sides of which are encrusted with a dirty brown deposit about 3 cm. thick. This is traceable for at least 20 yards, and runs in the direction of the railwayman's house (casello) N.E. of the Villa of Quintilius Varus. It cannot be followed further in either direction, and may only have been a cistern; but if it is an aqueduct it should probably be connected with the larger of the two which we have just described. At the point where the Strada di Quintiliolo leaves the highroad into the town, yet another aqueduct specus has recently come to light, measuring 85 centimètres in width, and 95 in height as far as preserved (the roof has not been found); its sides and floor are constructed of bad concrete, the former being 45 and 49 cm. thick, the latter 30. The specus is full of dirt, and much deposit has been used in the concrete of the walls. It runs 20 degrees N. of E., and its date is quite uncertain.

Half a mile to the E. of the Villa of Quintilius Varus is the former monastery of S. Antonio, the residence of the late Mr. F. A. Searle. The villa upon which this building is erected is of considerable size, and parts of it are still well preserved. In two or three of the rooms mosaic floors are still in good preservation[2] (in one of them, which has a floor of white tesserae laid longitudinally, there are two round blocks of travertine to support the bases of columns, each 44 cm. in diameter, and 1·15 mètre apart), and in the lowest storey there is a well-preserved rectangular chamber,[3] with an apse at the end: the apse was decorated with rough mosaic and sea-shells (Fig. 17). The walls are double, as a protection against damp, and faced with opus incertum which is almost sufficiently regular to be called reticulatum, and is interesting as showing how the latter was derived from the former: and the sides were decorated with columns carrying an entablature, but having no structural function, as the roof is supported by a barrel vault resting on the side walls. Below the monastery in the garden is a double

[1] I cannot locate the excavations described in *Bull. Inst.* 1832, 6, 'Nelle vicinanze di Tivoli il Sig. Arduini ha cavato alcuni pezzi di cornice di rosso antico; due piccole colonne, ed un pavimento di marmo palombino a scacchi.'

[2] Nibby, *op. cit.* iii. 221, speaks of remains of marble facing slabs and stucco in some of the rooms, and Antonini (*Manuale di vari ornamenti*, ii. 24, 25) gives two rosettes from fragments of ancient sculptures preserved here.

[3] This chamber measures 10 mètres in width by 8 in length, not including the apse, which is 4·5 mètres in diameter.

terrace wall consisting of Cyclopean masonry behind, with opus reticulatum built against it, the latter with buttresses and niches alternating. A rough wall of Cyclopean work at a slightly higher level is of doubtful antiquity, and being only 3·4 mètres distant, cannot belong to another terrace of the villa. Lower down again is another terrace of opus reticulatum, and in other parts of the garden are other remains of substructures, so arranged as to afford the finest views of the gorge. The villa was supplied with water from the upper of the two aqueducts mentioned above, by a vertical shaft at the E. end of the building.[1]

The villa at S. Antonio is generally supposed to have belonged to the poet Horace. No allusions in his own writings bear out this supposition: he was clearly very fond of Tibur, and was often there, but that does not imply that he possessed a villa of his own. But the writer of the Life of Horace, generally attributed to Suetonius, says (*Suetonii opera* ed. Roth, p. 298, l. 23), 'vixit plurimum in secessu ruris sui Sabini aut Tiburtini, *domusque eius ostenditur circa Tiburni luculum.*' The site of the Lucus Tiburni which is mentioned by Horace (*Carm.* i. 7. 13), Pliny (*H.N.* xvi. 87. 237), and Statius (*Silvae* i. 3. 74) is not known, though it is generally supposed to have been near S. Angelo in Piavola; but, if Horace had a villa at Tibur at all, there is no other site that so well justifies the words (*Carm. cit.*) in which he praises the beauties of the place: 'Me nec tam patiens Lacedaemon, nec tam Larissae percussit campus opimae, quam domus Albuneae resonantis, et praeceps Anio, et Tiburni lucus, et uda mobilibus pomaria rivis.' On the other hand, the expression 'ruris sui *Sabini aut Tiburtini*' finds a good parallel in Catullus, *Epigr.* xliv., 'O funde noster, seu Sabine, seu Tiburs, nam te esse Tiburtem autumant quibus non est cordi Catullum laedere; et quibus cordi est, quovis Sabinum pignore esse contendunt,' and would thus seem to refer to the country house or farm which Horace possessed in the valley of the Digentia (now Licenza).[2]

[1] In the garden at S. Antonio I copied two brick stamps,

TONEI·DE QVIN·

and

CAECINA EXOCHI

neither of which appears to be otherwise known. The former, (*tegula*) *Toneiana de* (*figlinis*) *Quint*(*ianis*), is a case of the mention of two brickworks in one stamp, which seems to occur only where the *figlinae Tonneianae* are concerned, and for which no explanation has yet been found (*C.I.L.* xv. p. 188). The combination with the *figlinae Quintianae* is a new one.

[2] M. Jullian maintains that this farm was actually within the territory of Tibur (*Mélanges de l'École française*, 1883, 82); but see Dessau (*C.I.L.* xiv. p. 368).

The concluding clause is therefore awkward: and two later passages—*Carm.* ii. 18. 12, 'nec potentem amicum largiora flagito satis beatus unicis Sabinis,' and *ibid.* iii. 1. 47, 'cur valle permutem Sabina divitias operosiores'—seem to show that Horace had but one country house. If the clause is genuine (and there seems no reason to suspect it, as far as the evidence of the MSS. goes, though Wickham, in his edition of Horace, i. p. 18, considers the form of statement to be quite consistent with the idea that the passage is an interpolation) the word *ostenditur* is still remarkable: the identification may have been made, without foundation in fact, for the delectation of the tourist, as well in the day of Suetonius as at present.

One argument that is used against the current theory—that the villa is too large for a man of Horace's means—will hardly hold water, as, though it was by no means a small house, it was rather below the average size of the villas of the district.

Five hundred yards E. of S. Antonio, higher up on the mountain slope, is the Casale S. Angelo, where the church of S. Angelo in Piavola stood till 1822. This is the traditional site of the Villa of Catullus, but there is no reason for the supposition, though the site seems to be ancient; ancient capitals and columns exist there, and some travertine voussoirs are built into the walls of the monastery (Searle in *Journal Brit. and Amer. Arch. Soc.* i. 94 *sqq.*).[1] Below it, close to the road, is a fountain, with the remains of a reservoir, which may or may not be of Roman date. Further down again, near the river, at a place called Truglia,[2] pavements of various marbles were discovered in the time of Antonio del Re (*op. cit.* 114); Cabral and del Re (*op. cit.* 90) speak of similar discoveries, and also of the finding of a column, on which female figures were sculptured in low relief, but as they give no details as to the precise site where these objects were found, it is impossible to say whether they refer to the same spot, or to excavations made nearer to the Casale S. Angelo.[3] Below S. Angelo and the modern road, close to the great fall of the Anio, are the substructions of another villa, of rough concrete, and this is perhaps the site referred to.

Nearer still to Tivoli—opposite, in fact, to the two temples, in the gardens which now occupy the slopes—are the remains of large substructures in

[1] Cf. also Antonini, *op. cit.* ii. 23.
[2] No doubt the 'fundum trulias' of the Bull of 978 (*supra*, 129, n.).
[3] In the church of S. Angelo existed the inscriptions *C.I.L.* xiv. 3544, 3662.

opus reticulatum which the writers on Tivoli generally identify with the Villa of Vopiscus (Statius, *Silvae*, i. 3 ; Canina, *Edif.* vi. tav. 136).

From Tivoli to the Villa of Quintilius Varus, though the road must follow an ancient line, it now presents no traces of antiquity, though Promis (*op. cit.* 29) speaks of traces of substructures in irregular *opus quadratum* opposite the Cascatelle, and again near a chapel of the Saviour (probably above the new fall of the Anio). Not very far to the N. of the villa, however, and considerably above it, close to the southern entrance of the railway tunnel, the remains of an ancient road, winding along the slope of the mountain, and followed very closely by the modern railway, which as a rule runs just below it, begin to appear. The upper side of it is generally cut into the side of the slope, while the lower side is sometimes also cut in the rock, but is more often supported by a wall of rough Cyclopean work, or, in one place, by two such walls, 1·4 and 1·2 mètre in thickness respectively, with a bank of earth 1 mètre thick between them (Figs. 18, 19). The width of the road itself is 3·7 mètres. A little beyond the N. end of the tunnel are the remains of a small two-arched bridge, the piers of which seem to have been of Cyclopean work. The span must have been about 2·7 mètres, the width of the bridge about 6 mètres.

The road is clearly traceable until it reaches a point E. of the Casale Vitriano, to the S. of a large villa platform, with vaulted substructures in opus reticulatum, called Grotte di Scalzacane. The surrounding hills are also known as Colli Farinelli. Excavations made here by Prince del Drago in 1847 resulted in the discovery of architectural fragments, etc., also the brickstamp *C.I.L.* xv. 2382 (Bulgarini, *op. cit.* 101, who apparently attributes it to the second century ; Viola, *Tivoli nel Decennio* 1835–1845, 233 n. ; *Giorn. Arcad.* cxxv. (1851), 163). Not far to the N. is another large villa platform with walls of opus incertum. After this point traces of the road are scantier, but its section is clearly seen in the railway cutting about half a mile S. of Palombara station, and it soon reappears on the W. of the line, and may be clearly traced by its supporting wall on the E. as it ascends, past the remains of a large villa, to the E. extremity of the Colle Turrita, where it stops (*infra*, 172).[1]

To the W. of and considerably below the first traces of this ancient road, a few hundred yards to the N. of the Villa of Quintilius Varus, are the remains of another villa, known as the Villa of Ventidius Bassus. It

[1] Since the above description was written the road has been almost entirely destroyed.

has three large platforms, the lower supported by a wall of opus reticulatum, the second by a wall of polygonal work, which faces westward and northward. The polygonal work is obviously of Roman date. The horizontal line seems to be intentionally avoided, and, though the joints are very fine and mortar still remains in them, the faces have been purposely left rough. The blocks vary considerably in size: some of them are as much as 1·5 mètre long, while others are only 46 by 44 cm. The wall appears to have been 1·75 m. thick.

In front of the best-preserved portion, which is in the centre of the platform, there has been a concrete wall in two thicknesses, the inner 24, the outer 57 cm., which does not seem to have risen to any considerable height above the present ground level, as it has a flat top. Further to the S., however, there is a piece of concrete walling faced with opus incertum which masks the polygonal work altogether, and has in it two blocks of travertine placed in such a way that they very likely formed the sides of a window of a cryptoporticus.

There have been further alterations at this level: the polygonal wall originally turned at right angles at the N. end of the terrace, but was later almost entirely hidden at the N.W. angle by the addition of lofty arched substructures in opus reticulatum, which carried a comparatively small structure set askew with the rest of the villa, in all probability a view tower. The uppermost terrace has almost entirely disappeared, but is still traceable. Cabral and del Re (*op. cit.* 106) speak of a chamber decorated with sea-shells and the so-called 'confetti di Tivoli,' fantastically formed pieces of calcareous deposit, which may still be seen in it.

Returning to the path to S. Pastore and Vitriano, we may examine the remains of ancient buildings which lie on the W. side of it.

At the Casale Mantellate, about half a mile W. of the road, and not far from the path to Ponte Lucano mentioned *supra*, 152, are some fragments of mediocre statuary. Over the gateway is a female head of white marble in a rough decorative style; while on each side of the door is a statue—one represents a youth, undraped, and is preserved as far as the hips: the hair is dressed high, and the left forefinger held to the lips, so that Harpocrates may be represented. The statue is unfinished, the left arm not being quite cut out, and the back left rough. The other statue is even more imperfect, and represents a Roman with a short curling beard and whiskers; the figure is fully draped.

To the E. of the Casale are traces of the platform of a villa, while a few hundred yards to the W. are two mediaeval towers side by side, enclosed within a wall the foundations of which are of opus reticulatum. Just to the S.W. of these are extensive subterranean chambers in opus reticulatum and brickwork, reached by a narrow passage faced with opus reticulatum ; they are roofed with gable roofs of cement set with planks, and probably served as reservoirs.

Close by, in making a vineyard, at the beginning of 1899, slabs of travertine from a pavement were found at a depth of 2 or 3 feet, and we saw a cippus *in situ* measuring 0·64 × 0·44 mètre, facing N., but any inscription that there may have been had perished. We were told that several more such had been found, in which case the pavement may have been that of a sacred enclosure or of a courtyard belonging to a tomb. A coin of uncertain date which we acquired was said to have been found with a dead body. We also saw some travertine columns, and a fine oblong pilaster of white marble, fluted on all four sides, and probably therefore belonging to some small shrine.

To the W. is the Casale Bellini, where in 1893 the remains of a villa in opus reticulatum and brick were discovered, with several copies of the brickstamp *C.I.L.* xv. 983b (first half of first century A.D.), while in 1894 a tomb was found, built of blocks of travertine, with an inscription as follows :

HYGIA
MVRDIAE PHIALE
NVTRICI SVAE

This may still be seen on the spot (*Not. Scav.* 1893, 520 ; 1894, 146). The district is called Il Favale,[1] so that not far off, in a vineyard belonging to the church of S. Silvestro, were discovered the sarcophagi of which Sebastiani (*op. cit.* 108) speaks : they were three in number, of white marble, two plain, and one of them with undulating channels (the technical term for which is 'strigils') having figures roughly carved in bad style in the centre and at the corners, of which those at the corners represent two Teraphim, so that a Hebrew was probably buried in it.

To the N. is the Campo Limpido, where in 1846 the remains of a very fine villa were discovered not far from the Ponte dei Prati (probably

[1] The name occurs in a Bull of Anastasius IV (1153–1154), Bruzza, *op. cit.* p. 76, l. 9.

that called by the Staff Map the Ponte delle Vigne, and not the Ponte dei Prati to the W. of Colle Nocelle)—a bath and a lead pipe with the inscription 'Tito Sabidio,' and also an aqueduct, paved with travertine slabs, which branched off into two channels (Bulgarini, *op. cit.* 100; *C.I.L.* xv. 7906); *C.I.L.* xv. 7908, found in 1847 'nei piani di Tivoli,' and bearing the inscription 'P. Sabid(io),' may also have been found here.

To the N. of the Campo Limpido, on the further side of the Fosso di S. Pastore, is the hill called Colle Nocelle, which is literally covered with the remains of villas. At the S. end is a large villa, with two terraces, just below which are the scattered remains of a tomb discovered in 1822: it had a cella of blocks of travertine,[1] with a portico of marble, covered with tiles of marble, with antefixae carved in good style.

Upon the epistyle of the portico was the inscription *C.I.L.* xiv. 3735 (Sebastiani, *op. cit.* 418). Some fragments of this, and also the inscription *C.I.L.* xiv. 3617, are still to be seen on the spot, though Dessau was unable to find either of them.

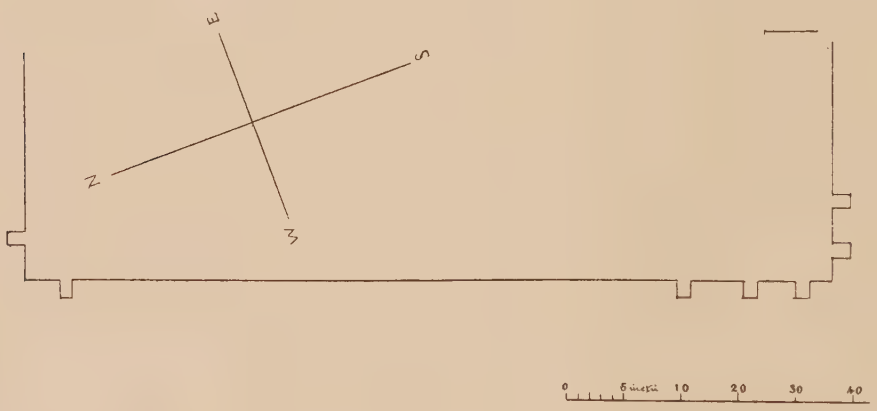
The lower terrace of the villa is supported by a wall of Cyclopean work with very strong tendencies towards opus quadratum (masked in places by rough opus reticulatum), facing S. At the W. end of this wall another wall goes to the N.; it is at first of opus quadratum of plum-pudding stone, which is soon succeeded by a stretch of opus reticulatum with limestone quoins about 80 yards in length. About 25 yards N. of the main wall, and, like it, facing S., is a wall of large, not quite rectangular blocks, of which only two courses are visible above ground. The blocks are, however, smooth-faced, whereas in the main wall some faces are left bossed.

Above this villa, near the top of the hill, is a large subterranean water reservoir, the internal measurements of which are 29·65 mètres in length, with three aisles respectively 3·30, 3·46, and 3·40 mètres in width, divided by two rows of eight pillars, each 90 by 80 cm. The intervals between the pillars are very irregular. To the N. of it a late cemetery with tombs formed of tiles has recently been found.

On the W. slope of the hill is an enormous villa platform looking W.N.W., with a facing of massive blocks of stone, which approximates closely to opus quadratum, since, especially in the buttresses, many of the

[1] Some of these were, according to Bulgarini, *op. cit.* 101, used for the edge of the new fall of the Anio. Its foundations have recently been cleared, and its plan brought to light. It had two chambers both 4·1 mètres wide inside, the one 4·43 mètres long, the other 2·35, with a door connecting them.

blocks are nearly rectangular, though horizontal bedding is not uniformly maintained, and the lower angle of one block is sometimes let into the upper surface of the next below it. The jointing of the stones is extremely fine ; the bossing is obviously artificial, and resembles the rustica work of the Porta Maggiore (*Papers*, i. 150). The bossing projects about 9 cm., with a flat edge of 9 cm. all round. Mortar is, apparently, not employed. At each angle are buttresses—two at the N.N.W. angle, five at the W.S.W. angle, each measuring 1·2 mètre in thickness, and projecting 1·8 mètre from the face of the main wall. The wall is preserved to a maximum height of 4·7 mètres (Fig. 20). Upon the terrace are marble and brick lying loose, and at the S. angle are some remains of opus incertum in the wall of a cottage ; but the rest of the villa has disappeared. Dodwell (*Views and Descriptions of Cyclopian Remains*, pl. 122) gives a sketch of the terrace. The plan here shown is from my own measurements.



At the N. end of the hill is yet another villa, with two terraces, one above the other, both facing N., and on the upper one a water reservoir, measuring 11·96 by 3·63 mètres, and 2·9 mètres in height to the top of the vaulted roof. The lower wall was faced with opus reticulatum, as may be seen in the section of it which faces E.—the N. wall has lost its facing—while the upper wall was constructed of opus incertum.

Upon the lower terrace are various fragments of the architectural decorations of the villa, and many socket pipes, which were probably used to support the floors of hypocausts, or else built into the thickness of the walls as drain-pipes from the roofs. Sebastiani (*op. cit.* p. 418, n.) tells us

that the brothers Cocconari (who also discovered the tomb at the S. end of the hill) found some fairly good mosaic pavements here, and also the inscription *C.I.L.* xiv. 3626. We found here a terracotta plaque with two male figures and the maker's name, OCTAVI (cf. *C.I.L.* xv. 2548).

On the E. of the road to S. Pastore remains of villas are comparatively scanty; there is one large villa to the E.S.E. of the Casale Cocconari, generally called the Villa di Cocceio, and now known as the Grotte di Corzano, with a platform facing W., supported by a wall of opus reticulatum. To the N. of this is a cutting in the rock, in shape somewhat like a theatre, which is probably a quarry. The mediaeval building known as S. Pastore lies at the end of the straight path we have been following, to the E. of the N. extremity of the Colle Nocelle. At the foot of the knoll on which it lies the path divides. At S. Pastore the following fragment of an inscription, cut in good lettering upon a slab of Luna marble, was found in 1898 (*Not. Scav.* 1898, 284): '. . . uccic . . . . . nae flam . . . . . mpeius . . .'

Just to the W. of the upper Casale Vitriano, a little way below the summit of the hill, is a rectangular platform, the outline of which is clearly traceable, while the S.W. wall, 34 mètres in length, of fine Cyclopean work, the blocks having smooth faces and good joints, is still preserved for its whole length to a maximum height of 1·8 mètre. In front of this wall, on a lower terrace, is a tank sunk below the ground level, measuring 24·7 by 8·7 mètres, and at least 1·40 deep: the blocks show traces of having been covered with cement (Fig. 21). Upon the upper platform are traces of opus incertum; there are also some fluted columns of travertine coated with stucco, which probably belonged to this villa.

An ancient road perhaps led from S. Pastore to Casale Battista, and on the hill to the N.E. are possible traces of a road[1] towards the Colle di Vitriano, which lies half a mile to the N. At the S.W. corner of this hill are the remains of a very large villa, with two terraces.[2] The lower supporting wall, 52·4 mètres in length on the S.W. front (the N.W. side being 14·8 and the S.E. side 10·5 mètres long), is constructed of concrete faced with

[1] This is not shown on the map.

[2] A letter from Lesley to Lupi, describing a visit to this villa, and dated May 8th, 1732, is preserved in *Cod. Vat. Lat.* 9143, f. 89. In it the following passage occurs: 'ieri fui a Vitriano, viddi quel marmo che Marco havea fatto scavare. L'avevano sepelito di nuovo in mezzo di un campo, è di più rotto in vari luoghi.' No further description is given, and it is clear from the context that the reference is not to the villa itself.

limestone blocks, in Cyclopean work with so marked a tendency to horizontal arrangement as to be almost opus quadratum : the blocks are well jointed and the faces smooth. Small buttresses about 2 feet square, formed by a single vertical line of rectangular blocks, occur at intervals along the front wall. The height of the lower platform is about 7·5 mètres (Fig. 22). At its N.W. end a wall of reticulatum runs on for 13 mètres more. The upper terrace wall is constructed of Cyclopean work, approximating even more nearly to opus quadratum : it is masked in places by opus incertum. Dodwell, *op. cit.* pl. 123, gives a side view of the upper terrace.

Upon the lower terrace, which is about 51 mètres in depth, are fragments of very fine marbles of all kinds, showing that the villa was remarkable for its magnificence. At the S. corner of the terrace are the remains of the furnace of a hypocaust. Here I found part of a brick bearing a circular stamp, with a bird above an amphora and on each side the letters TI CL. A precisely similar stamp was recently found by us at a Roman villa near Saccomuro in the upper Anio valley, not far from Castelmadama. To the E. of, and above, this villa is a reservoir in concrete. Further E. again, on the E. slope of the hill, and overlooking the railway, are the remains of another villa ; and in the field near point 169 are large blocks of travertine, some still *in situ*.

Vitriano has been the scene of many discoveries, but their site is not sufficiently accurately indicated to enable us to be certain whether they were made near the Casale Vitriano or on the Colle di Vitriano. Volpi (*Vetus Latium*, x. 382) speaks of the discovery of tombs, and (in *Diss. dell' Accad. di Cortona*, ii. 182 *sqq.*) of the excavation by Furietti and Tebaldi of a large villa facing S. and W., with three large platforms and very rich remains of marble (very likely, therefore, the villa on the S.W. side of the Colle di Vitriano). Here were discovered a statuette of a nude boy seated on a wine-skin from which a jet of water flowed, marble pavements, and architectural fragments of all sorts, also a brick bearing the stamp *C.I.L.* xv. 1849. Cabral and del Re (*op. cit.* 80) speak of the discovery of various antiquities in ploughing among the remains of a large villa (very possibly the same), and of the fall in 1778 of part of the substructures, which brought to light some of the marble pavement of a room. In Stevenson's MS. notes (*Vat. Lat.* 10552, f. 21) there is an extract from a paper in the archives of the Vatican library ('promemoria in arch. bibl. Vat. carte sciolte'), dated April 2nd, 1780,

describing the discovery in the excavations at Vitriano of a small but rare silver coin of 'John usurper of the Western Empire,' and of long drums of columns of bigio lumachellato, about 48 cm. in diameter.

In this neighbourhood was discovered *C.I.L.* xiv. 3596. Cabral and del Re give a detailed account of the discovery and destruction of *C.I.L.* xiv. 3777, but the inscription had already been copied by Brunelleschi about 1513, 'nella Piazza di Tivoli,' and how it can have travelled to Vitriano, been lost and then rediscovered, is not known; and, further, it is still in existence, though the inscription is somewhat damaged, at Frascati (*C.I.L. cit.*).

To the W. of the Colle di Vitriano is the Colle Sant' Antonio, upon the S. extremity of which is a mediaeval church: on the W. slope, below this church, are the remains of a large villa, which, to judge from the fragments of marble, was very finely decorated: the retaining wall of the upper terrace is of opus reticulatum and was decorated with pilasters 8 feet apart from centre to centre: the capitals are gone, but their places are marked by slabs of stone 2 feet long and ·07 mètre high, which are 6 feet apart from edge to edge. Above them are flat arches over the spaces between the pilasters with stone voussoirs a foot in height, and above these again is a band of opus reticulatum 2 feet high.

Higher up the hill to the N. is a water reservoir, sunk below ground level: the specus which supplied it, 0·4 mètre in width, is still visible. On the ridge between the two summits of the hill are the remains of a road running N.N.W., which was supported by low walls of rectangular blocks of stone. To the N.W. again, on the W. slope, below the northern summit, and just above the stream which here runs S. of the railway line, are the remains of another villa platform, upon which is a ruined rectangular water reservoir, circular at one end, bisected along its whole length by a wall which carried a vault on each side of it. The excavations described in *Bull. Inst.* 1838, 50 (cf. 1837, 21), in which were found architectural fragments, many of them belonging to the latest period of the Roman Empire (when the building must have undergone restoration), and the inscription *C.I.L.* xiv. 3615, were probably made here. Nibby, *op. cit.* i. 484, and Gell, *op. cit.* 176, both speak of a large villa upon these hills (which they call the Colli Farinelli), citing the spurious inscription *C.I.L.* xiv. 406*.

To the N. of the railway, on the W. slopes of the Colle del Tesoro, are

the remains of another villa, facing W., which has three terraces, one above the other : the lowest retaining wall is traceable a little way above the railway line, the middle wall is of polygonal work and very well preserved (Fig. 23), while the uppermost is of opus incertum. Remains of other villas exist at several points between the Colle del Tesoro and the Colle Turrita, but they hardly require individual mention. In the construction of the railway two unimportant inscriptions (*C.I.L.* xiv. 3756, 3878) were discovered below the Colle Turrita in the remains of a tomb, with one or two other unimportant objects (*Not. Scav.* 1884, 160). Upon the E. extremity of the Colle Turrita (to which, as we saw *supra*, 164, an ancient road leads) are the remains of a mediaeval castle. The walls of this are built in places upon walls of Cyclopean work, which from their character and position appear to belong to a system of fortification (Fig. 24) : so that this was probably a small fortified outpost of Tibur in early times, to which, however, no name can be given.[1] It is a very noticeable fact that the ancient road from Tivoli leads up to this point and then ends abruptly.[2]

Aefula (*supra*, 132) was another such outpost on the S., and Varia (Vicovaro) on the N.E., guarding the road up the Anio valley, while Empulum (perhaps identical with Empiglione, though Dessau (*C.I.L.* xiv. p. 362) somewhat contemptuously rejects the idea) and the site now occupied by the village of Ciciliano were the outlying fortresses on the E.,

[1] Dodwell calls it Medullia, but without adequate reason (*infra*, 175, 183).

[2] The style of the walls at Turrita, if closely observed, shows some differences from that of the villas of the district. There has been, it is true, a certain amount of weathering : but though the joints were originally good and the faces of the blocks fairly smooth, there is not the extreme fineness observable in the later work ; on the other hand, there is no intentional archaism, such as that which leads to the bossing of the faces of the stones, and no positive avoidance of the horizontal line. The wall is 1·28 mètre in thickness : the blocks in the foundation are larger than those above. The material is pudding-stone quarried on the spot. Mortar was not originally used, but has been introduced with the addition of the mediaeval superstructure.

The ancient walls are well preserved on the S.W. and W. : on the W., where alone this projecting knoll joins the rest of the hill, there is a slight projection in the line of the wall, as though there was an entrance at this point—which would indeed be the natural one. On the N. and E. but little of them is to be seen.

The site measures (maximum measurements) 185 paces from E. to W. and 70 paces from N. to S. ; but the E. end is almost the apex of a triangle.

The name Turrita occurs in a document of 1030 (Bruzza, *op. cit.* p. 67, l. 15), 'de plebe de sancto iohannes qui est posito intro castello qui dicitur turrita' ; and also in a Bull of Anastasius IV (1153–1154), 'ecclesiam sancte romule de turrita.'

On the opposite side of the railway, on the slope to the N.E. of the station are foundations of roads and walls in Cyclopean work, of which, in their present state, but little can be made.

commanding the road which ran into the country of the Hernici—Ciciliano occupying an exceedingly strong position.

Livy (vii. 9) tells us that the people of Tibur refused to receive the Roman armies on their return from a campaign in 361 B.C. against the Hernici, in which they captured Ferentinum; and that, as a result, Rome declared war against Tibur, capturing the dependent cities of Empulum and Sassula[1] in 355 and 354 respectively (*ib.* 18, 19). These outlying fortresses, all of them in communication with Tibur by roads, show the strength of this city in the days of her independence, and the extent of her territory.

To the N. of this hill, on the further side of the stream, are some caves in a cliff facing S. (Fig. 25), which have all the appearance of having originally served as tombs, and may form part of the necropolis of this early settlement. On the summit of the hill above the tombs (which is called the Colle Cigliano) are the remains of a large villa in Cyclopean work and opus incertum, with remains of a cryptoporticus on the S.W. and S.E. Gell (*op. cit.* 133) identifies it with the site of Caenina (*supra*, 65). To the N.N.E. at Scocciasanta (point 221 on the map) is another villa with two terraces, both supported by retaining walls of polygonal work, the upper of which is remarkable as having in it a curious aperture for drainage. It is figured by Gell (*op. cit.* 134; cf. also my Fig. 26). Upon the upper terrace is a water reservoir.

The road which has been followed from Tivoli to Turrita must in the Roman period, one would think, have served the district of Marcellina and Palombara, and eventually have gone on to join the Via Salaria near Monte Libretti, forming a very important line of communication. There are no certain traces of it[2] (though there are some blocks which may belong to its paving) between the point where it ascends to Turrita and the cemetery of Marcellina, but a road can be traced with certainty at one or two points further N., and has apparently been only recently destroyed in several places (Fonteanive, *Avanzi Ciclopici*, 62). To the N.W. of the cemetery, near point 245 there seems to be visible in the stream-bed the junction of two roads, one going 15° E. of S. (which would be the road in question) and the other going 20° S. of E. (I was informed that the latter ran towards

[1] That the site of this place is quite uncertain we have already seen (*supra*, 134).

[2] The reference is of course to the straight line taken by the track which has but recently been superseded by the modern road with its curves and zig-zags. See the passage of Nibby's *Schede* quoted *supra*, 82, n.

the water reservoir to the E. of the present highroad from Marcellina, and that it had also been found on the N.W. side of the modern road coming up from Ponte Lucano.)

Another argument for its antiquity is the fact that it is joined, to the S. and N. of the villa at Scocciasanta, by other ancient roads, the one descending from the saddle between points 229 and 221, and not being traceable further either S.E. or N.W., the other running from the villa at point 229 N.E. along the ridge, until it falls at an acute angle into the line of the road of which we are speaking. In neither case is the pavement preserved, but the supporting walls are clearly traceable.

To the N.N.W. of the villa at point 221 is another of similar character, with a reservoir with three chambers, the central one 2·7 mètres wide, the two side ones 2·45, without interconnection. Half a mile to the N.N.E. is the village of Marcellina, which apparently does not occupy an ancient site. Just before the village is reached, near the Casino Trusiani,[1] buildings with pavements of mosaic and of marble were discovered (Sebastiani, *op. cit.* p. 413, n.), and Nibby (*op. cit.* 294) in 1825 saw many architectural fragments and pieces of mosaic which had recently been found. Sebastiani (*ibid.*) speaks of another mosaic pavement found near the Casale Faccenda, and of a paved road going thence towards Monte Gennaro, as if the Casale Faccenda lay on the N. of the village. Marocco (*Stato Pontificio*, x. 82), writing in 1836, also speaks of recent excavations by Prince Borghese; in these *C.I.L.* xiv. 3615 was found. The brickstamp *C.I.L.* xv. 2388, and the lamps (*ibid.*) 6562a (plain top), 6573a (crab), 6593 (top broken), 6595 (Gorgon's head), were found in a tomb near Marcellina in 1898. On the E. side of the village is a very large subterranean water reservoir, measuring 38·5 by 22 mètres, divided into six aisles with round *spiracula* in the roof. To the N. of the cemetery, at a place called Colle Malatiscolo, are the remains of a double platform; the retaining wall of the upper terrace is of rough opus quadratum, and upon it are several fragments of columns, which may belong to a temple,[2] or simply to a villa—the fact that there are the remains of two water reservoirs would point to the latter.

To the N.W. again is the steep slope known as Monteverde. Upon this are four very prominent terrace walls, one above the other, all facing

[1] In a garden along the highroad, S.W. of the cemetery, are fragments of columns and an Ionic capital.

[2] *Infra*, 176, n. 3.

S.E., in which Gell (*op. cit.* 311) and others have imagined that they saw the remains of the walls of a primitive city, Gell preferring to identify the site with that of Medullia (see Nibby, *op. cit.* ii. 293, and compare *supra*, 172, n. 1). The two lowest are close together, and obviously belong to a villa. The first is of very rough opus incertum, with rectangular niches joined by arches, in front of which there was once a portico (Fig. 27): the next of polygonal work, of blocks of limestone carefully jointed but having the faces left rough, masked at the bottom by a low strip of opus incertum. The platform has been lengthened towards the S.E., and here the polygonal blocks are smaller than in the original portion—several about 30 by 20 cm.

The third terrace wall lies three or four hundred yards higher up the slope, and is of opus incertum: at the N.W. end is a round tank in concrete, at the S.E. end a small water reservoir cut in the rock. The uppermost terrace wall is about the same distance away again; it is of Cyclopean masonry, very finely jointed, with a strong horizontal tendency, 30 mètres in length, and 3·5 in height (Fig. 28).

Considerably further up the mountain, in the deep ravine known as La Scarpellata, and close to the steep path which ascends it, are three retaining walls in the bed of the torrent, the lower of opus incertum, the two upper of polygonal work, with very fine jointing and obviously of Roman date.

Immediately to the S. of these platforms the modern road from Ponte Lucano comes up to join the road from the station of Palombara and Marcellina. It appears, however, to follow more or less closely an ancient line, inasmuch as paving-stones are visible in the fieldwall to the W. of the S. portion of its course. It at first passes the remains of a few villas, but soon reaches the district of the quarries in the travertine of later formation, which must, one would think, have occupied the place of sulphurous lakes, or of some obstruction which obliged the original Via Tiburtina to pass to the N. of it. Here there are no remains of antiquity; but a little before the railway line is reached, on the E. of the road, recent agricultural operations have brought to light the remains of a large villa, which must have been of considerable magnificence. Previous discoveries of fragments of sculpture are recorded in *Not. Scav.* 1897, 148. The place is known as Le Grottelle.

A little further on, on the S. edge of the railway line, is the Casale Battista, which is built upon foundations of opus reticulatum. After the

railway has been passed, the modern road runs through a long valley, while the ancient road soon diverged from it, ascending the Colle della Colonnella in a N.E. direction, with a branch going due N. along the E. bank of the Fosso Vazoletto (*infra*, 180).

On the N.W. side of this road, some little way up, is the solid concrete core, about 25 feet high and 10 feet square, of a tomb, from which the hill may perhaps take its name;[1] and a little further on the remains of a villa in the polygonal style, the blocks being very well jointed, and but little mortar used: a vault to the N. has been added later.

Further up the hill,[2] a little to the W. of the path, is a very large villa with two platforms, the lower of opus incertum, with nineteen intermediate buttresses, each 1·5 mètre thick, at irregular intervals, and the upper of Cyclopean work: upon this is a reservoir fed by a spring which still supplies a modern fountain. An ancient road descends W.S.W. past this villa to the path in the valley, but its width is only 2 mètres.

Remains of the road along the ridge continue to be met with (it is paved with blocks of local limestone); and there are remains of water reservoirs and other buildings near points 225, 222, and 227.

The road must have joined the ancient line of road to Palombara below the platforms of Monteverde. On its N. side, S.S.E. of point 235, are the remains of another great villa[3]—a portion of an arched substructure still remaining is about 84 feet long and 12 wide, and close by is a circular open tank 26 mètres in diameter, while among the ruins are traces of two smaller reservoirs. The prevalence of such buildings in this district is no doubt due to the fact that none of the great aqueducts passed through this neighbourhood, so that each house had to arrange for its own supply. Springs are, however, not lacking.

Not far to the W. are the remains of a large mediaeval castle (il Castelluccio), and the ruins known as Marcellina Vecchia belong to the same period.

Just before Palombara, on the right, is the Casino Belli, now the property of Mr. P. J. Chubb, who has discovered in his garden, about

[1] Colonnella means 'a small column.'

[2] For a sarcophagus found on this hill, see *Not. Scav.* 1894, 146.

[3] Probably referred to under the name of Le Grotte by Marocco, *Stato Pontificio*, x. 64. He also mentions excavations made hereabouts by a certain Signor Mendola, not long before 1836, in which were found the remains of a temple (*supra*, 174).

100 yards to the S. of the house, the limestone pavement of a road 2·06 mètres in width, running 10° S. of W. It very likely is merely a short road joining the line which runs to S. Francesco (and thence, possibly—though I have not marked it even conjecturally in the maps—to Montecelio). There do not seem to be traces of antiquity upon this path at present, though, when the first section of it (as far as S. Francesco) was improved, a few years ago, some fragments of terracotta reliefs, which probably adorned tombs, were discovered. One, now in the possession of Signor Bonfigli, represents a youthful figure of Hercules, seated upon a rock, with his left elbow leaning on a mask. Other fragments have been removed to the Vigna Guberti, to the N. of Palombara. All belong to the Roman period, being reproductions of late Greek models.

A mile or so W.N.W. of S. Francesco is the interesting church of S. Giovanni in Argentella, recently declared a national monument, with some paintings of the end of the 13th century. The church itself belongs to the 12th century, but there are traces of an earlier building, perhaps of the 9th century.

A full description, from the pen of the late Sig. Enea Monti, with photographs of the church, will be found in *Bull. Crist.* 1898, 122, and a short mention in the *Relazione dei lavori eseguiti dall' Ufficio per la conservazione dei monumenti di Roma e Provincia*, 1899-1902, 211 *sqq.* Some necessary restorations were made in 1902, and the church to some extent protected from damp, though more still remains to be done. The most important of the paintings is reproduced in the first article cited (tav. x.–xi.). In the entrance porch is a sarcophagus of white marble with rounded ends ; in the centre of the front is a space decorated with the 'strigil' pattern (*supra*, 166), and on each side a lion attacking a boar : there are also two other marble sarcophagi without reliefs at the fountain outside. One of the columns of the Cosmatesque iconostasis at the end of the right aisle (which bears the date 1170) rests upon a piece of marble bearing the letters

l ~~EGATO~~

v ESPASIAN *i*

The letters of the lower line must have been some 3 cm. high, and those of the upper rather larger. One of the four columns which support the baldacchino of the high altar has been cut from a fragment of a

frieze of Roman date, and bears traces of the name T · IVNIVS (*Bull. Crist. cit.* 126), and a fragment of a sepulchral inscription in elegiacs may be seen in the floor of the nave (*ibid.* 134).

In the last line but two I read	XIT EGENS ANIMO
in the last but one	CVLTORIS SEMPER HONESTI

To the E. of S. Giovanni, on the W. edge of the path from Palombara to Montecelio, are the remains of a villa ; and a little further S., at a point where the path passes along a ridge between two deep valleys, upon what looks not unlike an embankment about 6 feet high, there were found, almost under the path itself on its E. edge, two tombs of the Villanova period, which seem to belong to a date intermediate between the civilisation of the Terremare and that of Latium (*Not. Scav.* 1902, 20 ; *Bull. Com.* 1902, 97).

Tombs of quite a late Roman date, with tiles, are said to have been found not far off. A little way to the S.E. is a water reservoir, and further S. again, on the Colle Marocco, are other ruins, indicated on the map, which need not be mentioned in detail. Two sepulchral inscriptions, now in the possession of Signor Scipione Bonfigli, by whose kindness I am able to publish them, were found on this hill. The first is upon the front of a small cinerary urn of white marble 250 mm. high by 178 mm. broad, the letters being 15 to 17 mm. high :

DIS MANIBVS
LAETILIAE L · F
GEMELLAE
VIX ANN XII
PATER ET
MATER
FECERVNT

The second is upon an upright slab with a base to stand upon, tapering in thickness towards the top. It is 56 cm. high and 30 wide at the bottom, and the letters, which vary from 45 to 60 mm. in height, belong to a late period :

M S
TVSIDIAE
FORTVNIAE SI
FIL DVLCISSIME
Q · V · AN · XVI · M · III
D · XXIII HOS
DEVS VXSICVS ET
CLODIA NATE PA
*r*ENTES FILIA*e*[1]

Another sepulchral inscription, that of one Sophron (*C.I.L.* xiv. 3846), has also passed into Signor Bonfigli's possession; it was at Tivoli until a few years ago, and was first copied there by Sieder in or before 1503.

At a point where the path runs for a short distance N. and S. just after it has entered the territory of Montecelio, other late burials are said to have been found, also a subterranean chamber, with paintings on its walls, now full of water.

To the S. is an open reservoir known as the 'Bagno delle Dame,' below which remains of baths are said to have been found with inscribed lead pipes, which have since been destroyed. There are ruins of another villa still further to the S. (on the N. edge of map no. ii.) on the Colle Selciata, the name of which seems to indicate that the path follows an ancient line, though there are now no traces of paving. At the bottom of the hill it reaches the valley of the Fosso Vazoletto (*infra*, 180). The path going N.N.W. up the Valle Marocco, and joining the modern road to Palombara E. of the Ponte Levatore, very likely follows an ancient line, though there are no certain traces of antiquity.

We must now return to the railway station of Montecelio (*supra*, 117) in order to complete our survey of the district. The southern of the two ancient roads which separated to the S. of Torre Mastorta (*supra*, 106) runs on, passing close to the station, and near the Casale dei Prati turns almost due E. Here it is joined by a cross-road from the N. branch, which itself went on apparently due N. to S. Angelo;[2] for though there are no definite traces of antiquity along the modern road (till recently a path), an

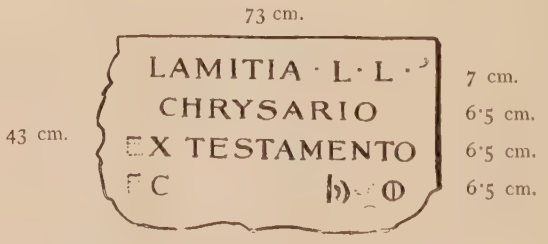
[1] My reading is in some points uncertain, and I have not had another opportunity of verifying my copy: Signor Bonfigli has, however, kindly done so.

[2] Whether the modern road up to Montecelio follows an ancient line, or no, I cannot say.

undoubtedly ancient road is seen to the N. of the Riserva la Pissina, which in all probability starts from it: and some means of communication with S. Angelo on this side must have existed. Nor are there any certain indications in the path traversing the valley between S. Angelo and Poggio Cesi, which also seems a necessary line of traffic. Taking first the road going E. from near the Casale dei Prati, we find scanty traces of paving along it: the remains of several villas not far from its course are indicated on the map, but hardly require a detailed description. In one place there is a tomb by its side, with a cruciform chamber faced with opus reticulatum, the voussoirs of which are very fine. Not far from the villa at point 115 is a fragment of a draped female statue of white marble, about life size. To the W. of the Casale Battista the road passes through a fairly deep cutting, the character of which has been much altered by the passage of a stream through it, and reaches the road from Ponte Lucano, of which we have just spoken (*supra*, 175).

We must now follow the road leading due N. from this point, along the E. bank of the Fosso Vazoletto, which is, in all probability, ancient. Close to the point where the road along the Colle della Colonnella diverges from it, there are the ruins of the small church of S. Vincenzo,[1] with remains of painting on the front of the triumphal arch—a sheep, with head upturned towards the left foot of a figure of which little else remains, and a decorative border of foliage below, not well executed, and covering some better work in stucco, with egg and dart pattern. The end of the church is not apsidal, but is a square of 3·20 mètres. To the E. of it are the remains of a villa.

On the other side of the stream, at the Casale Sinibaldi, are preserved some unimportant fragments of sculpture, and two inscriptions—one *C.I.L.* xiv. 3923, the other unpublished, so far as I know.



The numeral is undoubtedly 6000.

[1] It is mentioned in a document of 1030 (Bruzza, *op. cit.* no. xii. cf. p. 87).

The inscription *C.I.L.* xiv. 3922 is recorded as having been found 'above Casale Battista in the territory of Montecelio,' *i.e.* here or hereabouts.

Whether the Casale Sinibaldi stands on an ancient site or not, there is no evidence to show; but a little way to the N. are the substructures of a villa in Cyclopean work, with a somewhat strong tendency towards opus quadratum. It is probable that these are the walls spoken of by Fonteanive (*Avanzi ciclopici*, 58); cf. Gell, *op. cit.* 135; *Il Buonarroti*, 1873, 4; *Bull. Inst.* 1873, 38. There is, however, no doubt as to their real character, and the idea that an ancient city could ever have stood on this site, at the bottom of the slope of the hill, seems absurd, for it is absolutely unprotected on the N.

A kilomètre N.N.W., below the village of Montecelio, are the remains of a very large rectangular reservoir in opus incertum, with two chambers, each 23·89 mètres in length and respectively 4·46 and 4·54 mètres in width (below it are some traces of the villa which it supplied); and at the same distance further N. again are the remains of a similar structure, open to the air.

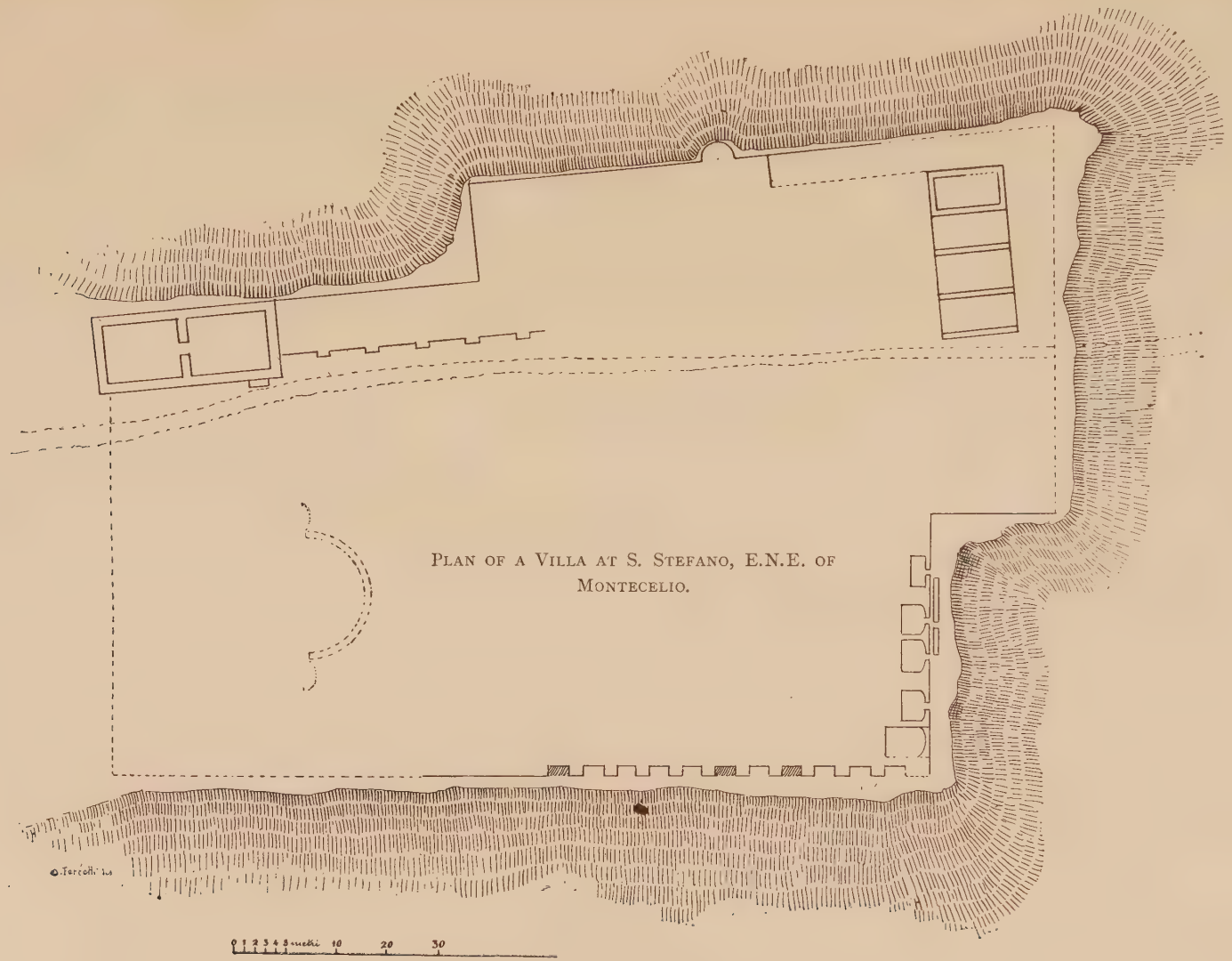
In the valley below, E.N.E. of Montecelio, are the remains of another villa, one of the largest in this district. Of the buildings upon the platform, which measures some 70 by 60 mètres, practically nothing is preserved, cultivation being responsible for their destruction. The construction is mainly of opus reticulatum along the front, cubes of different colours being used so as to produce a decorative effect. Bands of brick run through the whole at intervals, and the quoins are of tufa. The drainage arrangements are noteworthy, the weepholes in the front being in communication either with round pipes or triangular drains, so as to remove all moisture from the platform. The terrace is at least 8 mètres high in front as it stands. The plan on p. 182 is from my own measurements.

Upon the platform itself are remains of a mediaeval church (S. Stefano),[1] the apse of which is shown with dotted lines, and a little to the N. of the double piscina is a mediaeval fountain. Excavations were begun here by Signor Boccanera in the 'eighties, but interrupted by his death.

The castle of Montecelio (the modern name is a corruption of Monticelli, a name as old as the 11th century)[2] has foundations of Cyclopean

[1] The church belonged to the abbey of Subiaco.

[2] Annales Romaines (1044–1073) in *Lib. Pont.* (ed. Duchesne) ii. 334.



PLAN OF A VILLA AT S. STEFANO, E.N.E. OF MONTECELIO.

work of limestone on the W. and N. sides; the blocks are rough, and, though apparently hammered, have not been dressed in any way. The faces measure from 1·07 m. by 0·55 to 0·6 by 0·5 m.; the blocks tail in from 1·18 to 0·7 m., and behind them are big stones and earth (Fig. 29). Here we seem, therefore, as indeed we should expect, to find the evidences of the early occupation of so strong a position; but the name of the site is another matter. Several early towns, which in imperial times had almost or quite disappeared, are mentioned as existing in this district—Ameriola, Cameria,[1] Corniculum, Medullia—but in no case can their sites be fixed with any certainty. Nibby (*Analisi*, ii. 366) is inclined to identify Montecelio with Corniculum, which however lay, according to Dionysius (i. 16), somewhere between Ficulea and Tibur (*supra*, 56). The inscription in praise of Servius Tullius, said to have been found here at the end of the 17th century, is a blatant forgery (*C.I.L.* xiv. 403*). Gell (*op. cit.* 54) places Corniculum at S. Angelo; but, strictly speaking, as Prof. Hülsen (in Pauly-Wissowa, iv. 1604) remarks, following Bormann (*Altlatin. Chorographie*, 253), it should be sought somewhere in the Tenuta of Marco Simone; though it must be confessed that the name Montes Corniculani seems eminently to suit the three sharp-pointed hills of Montecelio, Poggio Cesi, and S. Angelo.

The only other trace of antiquity in Montecelio, with the exception of isolated architectural fragments, is to be seen within the castle. Here is a small temple, the cella of which is well preserved. It is of brick, rectangular, measuring 4·1 mètres wide by about 8 long; the walls are 0·85 mètre thick, and it rests on a stylobate 1·6 mètre high. The colonnade was probably tetrastyle; the pilasters in place still have Corinthian capitals; their diameter is 0·45 mètre, their height up to the collarino 3·3, their distance apart from centre to centre 2·45. The brickwork is very good, the bricks averaging 0·035 m. thick on the outside and 0·039 on the inside, and the mortar layers 0·013 and 0·015 respectively. When the castle was built it was converted into a chapel (Lanciani, *Bull. Inst.* 1870, 45, from which these measurements are taken).[2]

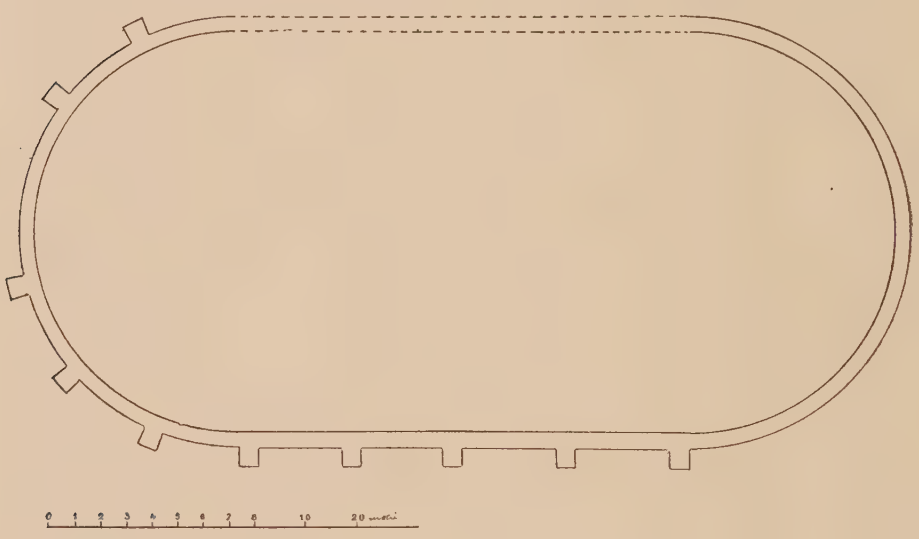
Somewhere within the territory of the village a fine sculptured

[1] For Cameria, which is generally supposed to have been at or near Palombara, cf. *supra*, 76.

[2] Remains of a pagan cemetery, as well as those of the older church, are said to have been found at S. Michele, on the hill to the S. of the village, in 1724, when the foundations of a new monastery were laid (Casimiro, *Memorie delle chiese e dei conventi dei Frati Minori della Provincia Romana*, 187).

sepulchral cippus was discovered in 1898 (*Not. Scav.* 1898, 284), as were also, many years before, *C.I.L.* xiv. 3919, 3921,[1] and the lead pipe *C.I.L.* xv. 7900 (*Faustus fec.*).

To the S.W. of Montecelio are the remains of another huge villa on the slope of the hill, known as the Grotte della Pissina. Above it is the reservoir which supplied it, a large open structure, with a semicircular portion at each end, having a radius of 7·85 m., while the rectangular part in the centre measures 17·60 by 15·70 m. Its walls are preserved to a height of some 8 or 9 feet. A rough sketch plan of it is given.



Further to the W. are the remains of the villa, an immense building; the total extent of the lower terrace is roughly 240 paces from E. to W. and 140 from N. to S. In the W. portion of the S. side it is supported by a wall of opus reticulatum, with buttresses projecting 1·45 mètre and 0·9 in width at intervals of about 3·4 mètres: 25 paces from this wall the upper terrace begins; this measures roughly 110 paces square, and comprises the buildings of the villa itself, which were constructed of concrete faced with brickwork. Of the superstructure but little is preserved, though the plan

[1] Whether the latter inscription, which speaks of *ordo dec. . . . Moeniensium*, may not have been brought from Castrimoenium is uncertain: it is a fragment found in a wall of a church in 1853.

might be recovered by excavation. At the N.W. angle there is a little paving *in situ*, belonging no doubt to a branch from the road on the N., and a little further E. is a fountain basin, 1·85 mètre in diameter and 0·45 deep, hewn out of a single block of travertine. There are, however, considerable remains of cryptoporticus and subterranean chambers on the S. and E. sides of the upper terrace.

On the N. side of the villa there is a path going W. which contains several limestone paving-stones and is no doubt ancient. It was indeed very probably the Roman route to Montecelio, though it cannot be traced with any certainty beyond the commencement of the steep descent to the valley E. of Colle Grosso.

Between this point and the station of Montecelio are the remains of other villas, which are indicated on the map, but need not be mentioned in detail ; and there are others of a similar character on the Colle Grosso.

I do not know what the building can be to which Ciampini (*Vetera Monimenta*, i. 68) refers : 'dum haec reticulata opera rimabar, animadverti non omnia ex topho elaborata esse, ut hic Romae, neque ex silice, ut Tusculi, sed etiam quandoque ex marmore Tiburtino, et ex lapide Albano, sicut loci opportunitas, et vicinarum fodinarum natura ferebat. Antiquissimum aedificium reticulati operis vidi Corniculi, quod ipsi Corniculani Servii Tullii . . . Palatium fuisse existimant. Haec mihi indicavit D. Franciscus Maria Lancianus dum praeterito anno[1] apud ipsum, una cum solitis amicis hospes essem.'

On the hillside to the S. of S. Angelo is a large villa known as Vallemara ; it faces S., and has a cryptoporticus 3·6 m. in width on the E., S.; and W., lighted by windows at the sides. It stands upon a lofty platform, supported by walls of opus reticulatum with large rectangular stone quoins, the front of which is some 48 mètres in length (Fig. 30). Above it to the N. is the reservoir by which it was supplied with water, 29·95 m. long, divided into three chambers, each 3·4 mètre in width.

Half a mile further W., just on the E. of the path ascending to S. Angelo, are some mediaeval ruins, built upon a large underground chamber, divided into three arcades, which may have been a Roman water reservoir. Upon the highest point of the Colle Lungo, about a mile to the S.S.W., the remains of a villa, probably belonging to the time of the

[1] Probably 1688, as, although the title-page bears the date 1690, the 'Approbatio operis' was given on Jan. 12, 1689.

Claudian emperors, a statue and two heads of marble and some fragments were discovered in 1895[1] (*Not. Scav.* 1895, 324, 421). A cippus was also found which may have indicated one of the boundaries of the property; and in the villa itself were found many tombs of later date.

Two miles N.W. of Montecelio, upon a slightly higher and more isolated hill, lies the village of S. Angelo Romano or S. Angelo in Capoccia.[2] This is accessible by two ancient roads from Rome—one the road described *supra*, 108, leaving the Via Tiburtina at the eighth mile, the other that known as the Strada Vecchia di Palombara (*supra*, 54 *sqq.*). The existence of these two roads proves that it was a place of some importance in ancient times, and possibly it is to be identified with Corniculum, as Gell thought (*loc. cit.*). Nibby (*Analisi*, ii. 325) prefers to call it Medullia, of which we know only that it was an ancient Latin town in the neighbourhood of Nomentum, and close to the Sabine territory, occupying a strong position ('tuta munitionibus', Liv. i. 33, cf. 38; Dion. Hal. ii. 36, iii. 1, vi. 34). Pliny (*H.N.* iii. 68) enumerates it among the lost cities of Latium (here the form Medullum is found). Bormann (*op. cit.* 262) prefers Coppi's view (*Diss. Accad. Pont.* v. 204), according to which it should be placed between the Anio and the Fosso Magliano (Magugliano, *supra*, 102) or Fosso di Marco Simone—*i.e.* somewhere in the neighbourhood of Marco Simone itself. But it is there that he places the Κόρνικλα ὄρη (*supra*, 56), and it would seem that his views are inconsistent with one another. In his map he puts Medullia (doubtfully) at Montecelio.

Both Nibby and Gell speak of the existence of considerable remains of walls in rough Cyclopean work (the latter even gives a sketch of them) outside the village, close to the church of S. Liberata, at the S. extremity of the hill: these they consider to be part of the walls of a city to which the site of the present village served as acropolis. I visited the village in 1898, and could then neither see nor hear anything of these walls, which may have disappeared in the interval, nor of any traces of ancient work in the village. The inscription *C.I.L.* xiv. 3926/7 is recorded as having been copied at S. Angelo. The only remains of which the inhabitants knew anything lay at the foot of the hill, half a mile to the N. of the village. Two hundred yards E. of the present road from Rome (the

[1] As the exact position is not given, I have not marked it upon the map.

[2] Poggio Cesi, the summit between Montecelio and S. Angelo, which is higher than either, is occupied by a mediaeval castle; and there are no traces of any constructions of an earlier period—a remarkable fact.

'Strada Vecchia di Palombara') are some insignificant remains of the terrace wall of a villa in Cyclopean work, known as Le Pezze, and to the N.E. are remains of the villa itself.[1] A little further E. are three circular cavities, probably quarries, one of which has been converted in Roman times into an open water reservoir with concreted sides, 80 feet in diameter and 6 deep.

Further E. again are the remains of a very large villa: there is a wall facing E., preserved for a length of 73 mètres and a height of 3 mètres. It is entirely in Cyclopean work: the tendency towards opus quadratum is strong, the faces of the stones are very smooth, and the joints very close, the angle of one block being sometimes dovetailed into the upper surface of the block below (see Fig. 31).

The line of the N. side of this terrace may be traced, but the wall itself has perished: 20 mètres in front of it are remains of a lower terrace wall in Cyclopean work, and 14 mètres in front of that remains of a wall in concrete. The line of the W. side of the terrace can also be perceived. The place is known as La Civitella, and this is where Gell (*op. cit.* 52) and Nibby (*op. cit.* i. 137) locate Ameriola, one of the cities of the Prisci Latini subdued by Tarquinius Priscus, and one of those which had disappeared in Pliny's time (see Livy i. 38; Pliny, *H.N.* iii. 68). Of its exact site we really know nothing.

That the remains are those of a villa, and nothing more, there is, however, no doubt: they are situated in comparatively low ground, in a position strategically useless.

We have now concluded our survey of the territory of Tibur to the N., and turn to study the district to the S. of the city, keeping, as has been said, on the W. side of the wall of mountains which is broken only by the narrow Anio valley. The city of Tibur itself, and the Via Valeria which runs up the river valley, will be considered on another occasion.

VI.—THE TERRITORY OF TIBUR ON THE SOUTH (*from Tivoli to Gericomio*).

The road which issues from the S. extremity of the town of Tivoli, and forms the commencement of the modern highroad, is, as we have

[1] They have inadvertently been omitted from both maps: the circular reservoir is to the E. of them.

seen (*supra*, 142), of Roman origin. This ancient road soon divides into three branches, one descending the steep slope that falls away towards the plain below, the second descending more gradually in a southerly direction, the third keeping more or less on the level along the mountain-side.

The first of these branches falls into the road from Ponte Lucano to Corcolle about a mile S. of the former (*supra*, 128, 142). Volpi (*Vetus Latium*, x. 654) recalls the discovery of pavement upon this upper section of it near a small chapel dedicated to S. Marco.

Upon each side of it are the remains of large villas. On the right below the Riformatorio is a large villa platform with retaining walls of Cyclopean masonry, described in *Civ. Catt.* 1857, ser. iii. vol. vi. p. 357 (cf., however, Hübner in *Bull. Inst.* 1857, 74), and by Fonteanive, *op. cit.* 74, as though it were a Pelasgic hieron! A little further down, upon a projecting shoulder of the hill, and commanding a splendid view, is another, the traditional villa of Plancus, built of opus reticulatum and opus incertum,[1] with two cryptoporticus.

On the left of the path, just where it crosses the modern highroad, is a large villa known as the Villa dei Pisoni.[2] The name goes back to the 10th century, for in a bull of Marinus II, of 945 A.D., and in subsequent documents (see Bruzza, *Regesto della Chiesa di Tivoli*, p. 19, l. 11, etc.), oliveyards and vineyards described as 'in pesoni' are mentioned as belonging to the see of Tivoli. Azzara found there in 1779 a unique statue of Britannicus, sixteen heads of Greek philosophers and poets (all of which he left to the royal library at Madrid), and the celebrated bust of Alexander the Great which is now in the Louvre (no. 436) (Visconti, *Museo Pio Clementino*, i. p. 13; Guattani, *Monumenti Inediti*, 1784, Gennaio, p. 2). Domenico de Angelis in 1780 found chambers decorated with painted stucco, the drawings of which existed in Bulgarini's time in the Palazzo Municipale (Bulgarini, *op. cit.* 115, n. 93). Francesco Carlandi discovered more recently some marble pavements and fragments of statues (Bulgarini, *ibid.*). Not far from this villa, at the chapel of S. Maria in Pisoni, which has now disappeared, the inscription *C.I.L.* xiv. 3826 was often copied in the 15th and 16th centuries. In 1488

[1] In one place courses of baked bricks ·04 mètre thick, and tufa blocks 0·07 thick by about 0·20 long, are arranged alternately in threes.

[2] Two very poor views of it are given by Volpi, *Vetus Latium*, x. 1, opp. p. 360 (reproduced in *Veteris Latii Antiquitatum Amplissima Collectio* (Rome, 1776), pt. i. pls. 13, 14).

Fra Giocondo copied near this chapel (which was also known as S. Maria della Strada, while Cabral and del Re (*op. cit.* 134) speak of it as the Madonna delle piaggie or delle quattro faccie) seven inscriptions on the shafts of hermae of various Greek worthies—Andocides, Aristogeiton, Aristotle, Carneades, Heracleitus, Isocrates, Miltiades (Kaibel, *I.G.I.* 1134, 1136, 1138, 1159, 1168, 1170, 1186; Hülsen,[1] *Röm. Mitt.* 1901, 125, 155 *sqq.*, nos. 3, 4, 6, 13, 19, 20, 30). Sieder saw them in the same place in 1503: he notes that two of them were 'in S. Marco,' but this chapel was not far off. Pighius saw them there in the middle of the 16th century (and besides the seven already noted, apparently four more—*I.G.I.* 1128, 1131a, 1140, 1163a; nos. 1, 2, 7, 16 of Hülsen's collection), and drew the attention of Julius III to them, with the result that they were removed to the Papal villa (Villa di Papa Giulio).

I.G.I. 1167 (Hülsen, no. 18) may also come from the same locality, and 1221 (Hülsen, no. 43) certainly does. For the subsequent history of these hermae (several of which are lost) cf. Hülsen, *loc. cit.* 127 *sqq.* Ligorio added a number to the series, which are no doubt forgeries of his own (*ibid.* 131, 208).

Close by, near a ruined house just N. of this villa, called La Rosolina, was found a columbarium, with the tablets bearing the inscriptions *C.I.L.* xiv. 3725, 3781.

The second of the three roads descends in a southerly direction, leaving the modern highroad about half a mile from Tivoli; between it and the lower bend of the modern highroad are the remains of two villas, one of which is partly in Cyclopean work, finely jointed, with a tendency towards horizontal bedding, and the external faces smoothed (a low wall just below it, of similar but rougher construction, is probably a portion of the substructure of a road), while the other, a very lofty platform with walls of opus incertum, stands at the 26th kilomètre from Rome (Fig. 32).

Our road crosses the highroad close to the turn of the zig-zag (known

[1] Prof. Hülsen locates the villa, in my opinion, rather too far down the hill; for where Cabral and del Re's plan indicates it there are no remains of a villa, and one would think that they have inaccurately represented the locality of the large villa at the 26th kilomètre (which they place to the N. of the path), for they speak of it (*op. cit.* 137) as if it were a building of considerable size. It is, however, somewhat difficult to find the road which they call the Strada delle Piaggie (*op. cit.* 132) on the map: in fact, it is apparently the first of the three roads described by me which corresponds with their Strada di S. Marco, which descends directly to Casale Leonina.

as ' Regresso '),[1] and divides into two branches : one of these goes to the Villa Bulgarini, at the S.E. extremity of the Villa of Hadrian, the other to the Colle S. Stefano. Neither is demonstrably ancient, but both are probably so ; their straightness of line is remarkable, and along both—especially the latter—remains of villas are frequent. This side of Tibur appears to have been, if anything, more thickly studded with villas than the N. side, as a glance at the map will show : in ancient times, in fact, there must have been an uninterrupted succession of aristocratic residences. It is not necessary to describe each one in detail, as they present, as a rule, the same characteristics, and we may confine ourselves to repeating that the traditional nomenclature is almost always utterly worthless.

The third and uppermost road, the Strada di Carciano, keeps some way above the modern highroad, on the level. Near the Villa Braschi (the Seminario) was found *C.I.L.* xiv. 3855, in 1739.

Above the road, behind the Villa Braschi, Antonio del Re (*op. cit.* 103) places the Villa of the Rubellii : ' doue si veggono muri antichi, & volte che mettono in piano la Villa sopra il dorso, & dopo discende, secondo si trouano le reliquie di essa Villa di muri rouinati frà le vigne fino alla strada della Quaregna nominata [*i.e.* the road following the S. bank of the Anio eastwards], e frà le Vigne & Oliueti, che all' opposita parte del monte descende fino alla strada, che conduce verso la contrada, detta le Piagge di Cassano, & si trouano sparsamente dette rouine in detto spatio con acque nelli luoghi bassi della Villa.' Kircher (*Vetus Latium*, 162) also speaks of the remains of this villa. In the time of Cabral and del Re (*op. cit.* 160) there was very little to be seen, and now the traces of it have almost entirely disappeared. The identification is simply due to the existence of the local name Ripoli, and is not a safe one.

Below the Villa dei Greci (now the Collegio Irlandese) there is a huge villa in three terraces, with retaining walls of opus reticulatum, which are noticeable as having cubes of both tufa and travertine, the two colours being arranged in patterns so as to produce a decorative effect (Fig. 33). Immediately on the W. of this villa is a small, but very perfect, water reservoir, a plan of which is given by Lanciani, *Commentari di Frontino*,[2]

[1] Stevenson (*Vat. Lat.* 10552, f. 1) mentions the existence of paving-stones at the 26th kilomètre of the modern road, which probably belong to our road.

[2] I cite the paging of the reprint from *Atti dei Lincei*, ser. iii. vol. iv. (1880).

tav. i. Fig. 8 (see p. 46). This villa is frequently known as the Villa of Cassius, the name Carciano, which belongs to this district, being taken to be derived from a fundus Cassanus or Cassianus (both forms occur), mentioned in the documents cited on p. 129, n. 1, and to still perpetuate the name of Cassius, though Viola (*Risposta*, 63) rightly remarks that the indication is too vague to identify the villa with certainty.

Five hundred yards further S., below the road, and close to the turn of the modern highroad at Regresso, is another enormous villa with three platforms, supported by walls of opus reticulatum and Cyclopean masonry, the latter being treated as though it belonged to a Pelasgic hieron in *Civiltà Cattolica*, ser. ii. vol. viii. (1854), 349. Portions of the two lower terrace walls are shown in Figs. 34, 35; while Dodwell, *op. cit.* pl. 124, gives a view of the Cyclopean wall. According to Bulgarini (*op. cit.* 109, *Continuazione dell' Appendice alle Notizie su Tivoli*, 32), it was in this villa,[1] and not in that called by Cabral and Del Re 'the Villa of Cassius,' that the excavations of Domenico de Angelis were made in 1774–80 (cf. Lanciani, *Rendiconti dei Lincei*, 1897, 6; *Bull. Com.* 1898, 33). He discovered the group of statues of Apollo and the Muses (Helbig, *Führer*, i. nos. 274–281), a Minerva, a Faun and a nymph,[2] a child typifying sleep, a recumbent Bacchus, a Faun, a Hygieia or Salus, with a serpent, a draped female torso, and many hermae (see below). (Visconti, *Mus. Pio-Clem.*, ed. Rom. 1782, in fol., i. p. 13.) Visconti speaks of a mosaic representing a Nile scene, which, according to Viola (*Tivoli nel Decennio*, 289), was bought by a Russian in 1846: he also states that the excavations were continued by order of Pius VI, and that various Egyptian statues in black marble, a fine crocodile in *pietra di paragone*, a fine *rosone*, with a lizard and a frog playing in the leaves, some more hermae, and an altar, *Agatho Daemoni Sacrum* (*C.I.L.* xiv. 3533= Kaibel, *I.G.I.* 1123), were found. It may be noted that *C.I.L. ibid.* 3614 was found, not with no. 3533, as is there stated owing to a misprint, but with no. 3553.

The hermae found in the villa are given in Kaibel, *I.G.I.* 1129, 1130,

[1] Both Nibby (*Analisi*, i. 389) and Sebastiani (*op. cit.* 230) are at fault. Cabral and del Re (*op. cit.* 165) call this villa the Villa of Brutus; but the contract for the excavations of De Angelis calls it the Villa of Cassius, and so do Nibby and Sebastiani.

[2] This group, according to Sebastiani (*loc. cit.*), was bought by Lord Jennings: Bulgarini calls him Penchins: but we really have to do with Thomas Jenkins, English consul and antiquity dealer, who bought it for 600 scudi, and resold it to a 'Milord Inglese' for 4,000.

1135, 1144, 1145, 1163, 1174, 1190–1192, 1194, 1195, 1208, 1220. The Plato herma, *ibid.* 1196, was found rather lower down the hill, and with it a head, not belonging to it, 'di non ordinario lavoro' (Viola, *Tivoli nel Decennio, cit.*). Kaibel wrongly quotes Viola as saying that the head was slightly damaged. Most of these hermae are now in the Vatican, but one of those of Pericles (1191) is in the British Museum; while it is not stated where the Plato is.

On the other hand, it was in the villa further to the N. (which the older writers on Tivoli call Villa of Cassius), beneath the Villa dei Greci, that excavations were made by Cardinal Ferdinando dei Medici and Francesco Bandino dei Piccolomini, Archbishop of Siena, on which occasion statues, columns, cornices, etc., were found (Antonio del Re, *op. cit.* 106). The text of the agreement between the Cardinal and the owner (dated Dec. 19, 1568) for the possession of this site, with liberty to excavate and take what he found, including the purchase of two columns of coloured marble, is given in *Bull. Com.* 1898, 32. In 1777, columns, fragments of statues, and pavements of coloured marbles were found here (Cabral and del Re, *op. cit.* 163).

Zappi (*Annali e Memorie di Tivoli*, ff. 69–71), writing in or about 1580, gives the following description of this villa :—'La Villa di Cassio si ritroua in una spiaggia di Monte Calvo discosto mezzo miglio dalla Città di Tiuoli (;) un Aquidotto da sei palmi alto, et largo quattro, il quale passa per Mezzo la strada Publica oue si ritrouaua in quel tempo una Siricata [a corruption of Selciata] in pietre di Monte, et Tiraua uerso la Città di Tiuoli . . . . il quale Aquedotto con (*sic*) conduceua l'Accque Aniene principalmente in una Fontana Rustica di Tartari Tiburtini, che anche hoggi si Ritrouano li uestigii uicino ad un Teatro con una Loggia di sopra con pauimento di Musaico secondo che si uedono di Molte Colonne diuerse, di diuersa Natura et bellezza, fra quali ui ne sono di molte scoperte cauate di Novo sopra la Terra, con Busti e teste di statue, le Colonne sono di Mischio Africano et di Brecce verdi Bellissime (:) oue questo luogo egli fù destinato per un Cenacolo Magnanimo et Reggio, secondo il Parere dello Scul^{tre} M^{o}. Michel Angelo Bona Rota. Questo luogo si Ritroua sottoposto a Ponente . . . con una Piazza, Auanti a d^{o} Cenacolo longo più di ducento passi in piano et larga cento . . . lo qual Cenacolo godeua quattro Amene e Belle Viste . . . uerso leuante accosto alla strada Publica la quale seruiua a molti altri luoghi Regali, la qual uilla la si Ritroua diuisa in tre Appartamenti il P^{o}

come li dico il Cenacolo con la Prima Fontana con il Teatro, il secondo Appartamento, si Ritroua Basso più di Uinti Palmi uerso Ponente, con una Abbitatione con diuersi ricettacoli, et Conserue di Accque per la Estate . . . possedeua Anche un Piano, il quale seruiua per un Passeggiatoro con il suo Pauimento bellissimo di Musaico grosso e godeua l'Aere di Ponente, et anche sogetto all' Aere da parte di Tramontana, et oltra di questo seguita poi un altro Bellissimo e Regio Appartamento il quale possiede una degna habitatione similmente con una fontana Rustica fatta di Tartari Tiburtini alta la Nicchia più di trenta Palmi con il suo Vano proportionato, l'Accqua scatturiua in Mezzo della Nicchia si come hoggi si uedono li Uestigii detti di sopra alla d[a] fontana, sopra la quale si ritrouauano tre diuerse loggie con certi Tramezzi di muro fatti con Grande Artificio uerso Tramontana per sguascio acciò si godesse il Fresco delli uenti secondo che egli spirauano perche la sua uaga uista possedesse l'Aere di Ponente, et la d[a] habitatione possiede dicidotto Appartamenti tutti d'un Ordine, e tra l'uno appartamento e l'altro ui sono Ordini di Colonne Stuccate Toscani alte di quindici palmi, et auanti si ritrouaua un altra uaga Piazza, longa sessanta passi, et larga quaranta e possiede ponente e la Regal Uilla Adriana. . . . non gli posso descriuere Totamente (?) tutte le qualità Magnificenze, Grandezze di essa, perche confondono l'intelletto dell' huomo li pauimenti di Musaico, et alcuni altri di Mischi porfidi, serpentini, et altri Marmi Belli simili Affricani in modo che gli riguardanti et ingegnosi spiriti Restano con loro satisfatione considerato tanta grande Magnificenza, et grandezza.'

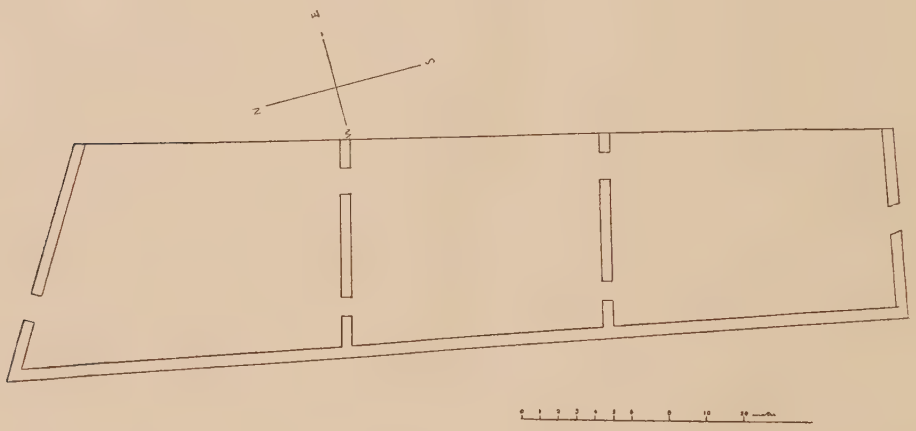
In one or other of these villas, and probably in the latter (though the term 'Villa of Cassius' without further localisation is ambiguous), excavations were made in 1830 (*Bull. Inst.* 1831, 29), but without result except for the discovery of rough mosaics.

Upon the left-hand side of the Strada di Carciano, between the two villas, a little way beyond the divergence of the new road to S. Gregorio, which runs even higher along the mountain-side, is a small cave hewn in the rock, in which are four rough sarcophagi close together (Cabral and del Re, *op. cit.* 164).[1] A little way further on, the road is carried upon an

[1] In Stevenson's MS. notes in the Vatican library (*Vat. Lat.* 10552, . 23) there is a sketch plan of the tomb, a single rectangular chamber, about 3·70 by 2·70 mètres, cut in the rock: immediately behind it passes the specus of an aqueduct (probably the Anio Vetus) which curves around it in such a way as to indicate that the tomb is earlier in date than it. He also gives a sketch of the stone door slab of the tomb. There follows a copy by him of a document entitled 'Notitia delle reliquie ritrovate in una grotta del Territorio di Tivoli luogo d[o] Carciano,' from

embankment, supported on the lower side by a wall of rough Cyclopean work (Fig. 36).

The specus of the three great aqueducts—the Anio Vetus, the Marcia, and the Anio Novus—now begin to be visible, running one above the other above the road. The specus of the Anio Novus, the highest of the three, traverses a large piscina, known as Grotte Sconce, divided into three chambers, which probably served as a clearing tank. The plan is roughly shown below.



A little further on, below the road, is the villa described *supra*, 191. Just beyond this, the road is again supported on the W. side by a long wall of Cyclopean work, preserved to a height of two or three courses only, parallel to and just below which runs the specus of the Anio Vetus, which has by this time passed under the road, while the other two aqueducts are still on the upper side of it. Beyond this again is a large villa with two terraces, both supported by walls of opus incertum and Cyclopean

which it appears that the tomb was opened on April 28, 1693, in the presence of Canonico Antonio Filippi, delegated by the Reverenda Camera Apostolica. A large slab of travertine was found, which served as the door of the tomb, with what was thought to be a cross upon it; but Stevenson's sketch of the slab (which he saw on the spot in 1879) shows that it was an imitation of four panels with a round hole to represent the keyhole. Five large nails, each one palm (m. 0·223) long, were found in front of it. Behind this slab was the tomb itself, a chamber containing four large sarcophagi, three of them each of a single block of peperino (two of them with heavy lids of the same material), and one of travertine with a cover of the same stone. On the stucco coating of the front of each of them, except of that which had lost its cover, were letters which could not be deciphered, except in the case of the travertine sarcophagus, where MAIOREO M could be clearly made out.

work, the lower wall being especially fine: it has Cyclopean work with a strong horizontal tendency for a length of 28·5 mètres and a height of 5·7 mètres, while on the S. side are three arcades of opus incertum, the rest being of the two styles alternately. Dodwell gives views of it (*op. cit.* 125, 126).[1] Upon the lower platform is a very finely preserved, though quite small, water reservoir. Hereabouts 'a destra nel luogo detto gli Arcinelli' was found the inscription *C.I.L.* xiv. 3737.

A mile further on, the road cuts through the remains of a villa, at a place called Grotta Papale, where Cabral and del Re (*op. cit.* 168) place the Villa of Aelius Rubrius, on the authority of the inscription *C.I.L.* xiv. 3542, '*Herculi Domestico T. Aeli Rubri Superstitis.*' This inscription was carved upon the base of a statue of Hercules, larger than life-size, which had perished, though the shape of the feet and portions of the club and the lion-skin were preserved. The base was existing in the house of Lorenzo Bernini at the time of Cabral and del Re. If the find-spot is correctly given it is probable that we have, in this almost solitary case, arrived at the correct name of the owner of the villa.

Three-quarters of a mile further on, the road cuts through a round water-tank, near which are the remains of a villa. Here, according to Cabral and Del Re (*op. cit.* 169), hypocausts, columns, mosaic pavements, etc., had in 1779 recently been found. Near here was found, in 1790, the statue of a Triton, now in the Vatican (Visconti, *Mus. Pio-Clem.* i. p. 69, tav. 35).

Three or four hundred yards to the S. of the road, the Fosso di Ponte Terra was crossed by a bridge, of which two piers only remain, of concrete faced with small rectangular blocks of tufa. They are 3·6 mètres apart, 2·8 thick, and 3·9 broad: they are preserved to a height of about 6 mètres, and no traces of the spring of an arch are visible (Fig. 37). On the banks of the ravine no signs of either a specus or a road can be seen: but as there is no aqueduct deposit about, and the bridge is too wide for an aqueduct, it probably served for a road connecting the Strada di Carciano with the neighbourhood of S. Vittorino. Coming as it does at a sharp bend, it runs almost due E. and W. Petronselli speaks of it as an aqueduct in his letter of November 18th, 1740.

Not much further along the road, Sebastiani (*op. cit.* 239) notes two

[1] A 'fundus fusci' is mentioned in the Bull of A.D. 945 (*supra*, 148, n.), and this villa is called by some writers the 'Villa of Fuscus,' but without sufficient reason.

small niches which were used for columbaria, called Il Tesoro, cut in the rock on the left of the road, one round, the other square, with ollae of terracotta. Traces of painted plaster spread over the natural rock still remained. The fact that these columbaria were not enclosed within any building is strange. Half a mile further on is the Casale of Gericomio: a fine mosaic floor with a geometrical design in black and white has recently been discovered, and in one of the outbuildings is some opus reticulatum, so that an ancient villa no doubt stood here. Half of a marble head of Hadrian was found here by the Duca Conte di Poli (Cassio, *Memorie di S. Silvia*, 154), and Petronselli, in a letter of September 7th, 1739, says 'nella vigna di Giricomio ci sono tre piccole stanze ad uso di stalle vicino al forno, in parte di opera reticolata ove mi vien detto ci siano nel pavimento alcune figure d'idoli greci in musaico.' Here the Strada di Carciano ends: its further course (if it ever had one) I have not been able to trace. It may have turned southwards as a modern path does, following the aqueducts (a road along the line of which must have been almost a necessity),[1] and have thus, after about a mile, reached the Colle Faustiniano in the neighbourhood of the Ponte S. Antonio (*supra*, 133).

Petronselli in the same letter speaks of a building with four aisles (a water reservoir or the substruction of a villa), situated between Gericomio and the Ponte di S. Antonio, one-sixth of a mile from the latter, known as Le Cappelle.[2] After visiting it, he writes further as follows (November 18th, 1740): 'sono stato dopo ricevuto il suo pregiatiss. foglio a riconoscere il sito oggi detto delle Cappelle nelle vicinanze del Ponte S. Ant° da me stimate il tempio della Buona Dea per che l'iscrittione dice *sub monte*, e mi son confermato questo possa essere, perche appunto resta sub Monte Affliano; massime che la Claudia non passa nelle viscere del Monte grande oggi detto di S. Angelo ma in quello più basso sotto del quale restan le sud^e Cappelle. Sempre però mi rimetto a cio che V. S. Revm̃a sarà per risolvere. Ho trovato di più in questo stesso sito 4 stanze reticolate[3] longhe p^i. 43 larghi palmi 18 [9·56 × 4 mètres] et una piscina riquadrata per ogni parte di palmi 43 con aquedotto che gira come nella

[1] Some paving-stones may be seen in a newly-made wall along this path.

[2] It is on the E. edge of the Colonna sheet of the Staff Map.

[3] Presumably this is the villa on the Colle Marcoraino, S.E. of pt. 492 near the W. edge of the Palestrina sheet of the Staff Map.

carta [a sketch plan which he sends with his letter] e nella parte versa cotesta dominante nel muro della d[a] piscina al di fuori si vede una forma di pozo (*sic*) largo palmi 3. Per andare da queste a Giricomio nello stesso sito lontano dalla d[a] piscina 100 passi mi dicono che ui fosse un pozzo dal quale scaturiva aqua, ma ora è coperto dalla terra e spini. Nel sud[o] aqued[o] non potei entrarvi a misurarlo per le spine. Nello stesso sito parimente per andare a Giricomio si trova un pezo (*sic*) di strada antica che dirige alle Cappelle come meglio nell' annesso foglio.' (This road must more or less correspond with the modern path due S. from Gericomio.)

Further particulars as to discoveries made in this district are contained in the following passage of another letter from Petronselli (Oct. 28th, 1739): 'La colonna milliare che tempo fà gli scrissi è stata trouata, ed è non colonna ma pilo di marmo di sei angoli con un festone intorno sostenuto da doi parti et in un angolo in parte rotto ui è la presente iscrizione nel principio mancante due lettere al più e questo staua un quarto di miglio lontano da S. Angelo in Vall' Arcese nei monti tra S. Gregorio e Giricomio,

d IS · MANIB
LVCRETIAE · SEX · F ·
SEVERAE '

The inscription is, I believe, unpublished.

In a letter of Dec. 28th, 1740, Petronselli mentions a double-chambered 'piscina limaria' which he attributes to the Aqua Claudia (probably near the Colle dello Scoglio): cf. Cassio, *op. cit.* i. 154.

APPENDIX.

The MS. notes of Diego Revillas (1690–1742), to which reference is frequently made, were acquired by me at the sale of the library of the late Constantino Corvisieri in 1902. He obtained them from the head of the archives of the monastery of S. Alessio, where Revillas resided when in Rome, and sold a portion of them to the Berlin library in 1873,[1] retaining the rest himself. The matter contained in both portions is not infrequently identical.

Among my papers are considerable portions of the MS. of a work, which, according to fragments of drafts of a letter to a person (apparently an Englishman) whom, he hoped, would patronize it, was to consist of four dissertations in one volume in folio, (1) upon the Viae Tiburtina, Valeria, and Sublacensis, preceded by a disquisition on the Roman mile and the Roman foot (cf. *Diss. Acc. Corton.* i. pt. 2, pp. 65 *sqq.*, iii. pp. 111 *sqq.*); (2) upon the aqueducts—Anio Vetus, Marcia, Claudia, Anio Novus; (3) upon the territory of Tivoli and the ancient remains contained in it, forming the text to the map published by Revillas in 1739, *Diocesis et Agri Tiburtini Topographia*;[2] (4) upon the Marsi, the Lacus Fucinus and its emissarium, etc.

'La topografia di questa regione delineata parimenti con tutta l'esattezza in gran foglio e di già incisa in rame,[3] e fino dall' anno scorso ne diedi al Sig. Tommaso Denham una Copia acciò la trasmettesse a V.S. Illma.'

In another fragment he says that the work can certainly be ready for the press about the beginning of the year 1739 (it is possible, therefore, that the map of the territory of Tivoli was only published after all hope of the printing of the whole work had been abandoned), and mentions the encouragement received from Sir Smart Lethieullier of Aldersbrooke in Essex and Sir Charles Frederick,[4] with whom he corresponded with

[1] *C.I.L.* vi. p. lxiii. no. cii.

[2] Stevenson (*Cod. Vat.* 10552) gives a copy of part of a letter relating to this very map from Canina to Coppi (dated Nov. 7th, 1855), lent him by Card. Nardoni in 1890, which runs as follows: 'Stando a Tivoli mi venne dato di rinvenire nella libreria dell' Episcopato il rame della importante carta topografica della Diocesi Tiburtina rilevata dal Revillas che non si sapeva dove esistesse e resa molto rara, ma solo cognita per una nuova incisione fatta dal Petrowski che cancellando il nome del Revillas se la fece propria. Mi feci rimettere il detto rame da M. Vescovo di Tivoli e ne feci tirare 50 copie.' Either Canina considerably overrates the rarity of the map, or else the copies which not infrequently come on the market in Rome are some of the fifty which were printed by Canina.

[3] I obtained a copy of this map in Rome in April, 1905. It is as described by Mommsen (*C.I.L.* ix. p. 347), who only saw a drawing of it, and bears the date 1735 and the dedication 'ill. ac rev. domino Josepho Baronio vigilantissimo Marsorum episcopo': it was engraved at Rome by Sintes.

[4] See Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*, § 36, p. 61.

regard to the question of the length of the ancient Roman foot. A letter from the latter on the point (referred to in *Diss. Acc. Corton.* iii. 119) is in my possession,[1] and also the manuscript of a longer treatise on the same subject, dedicated to these two gentlemen. Revillas was, like them, a Fellow of the Royal Society, and contributed eight papers, mostly on astronomical and meteorological subjects, to vols. xxxix.–xlii. of the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society*. He was also Professor of Mathematics at the University of Rome, having been appointed at the beginning of the year 1725.

It may be of interest to give in full a few passages from a treatise on the Agger of Servius Tullius, which was probably intended to form part of the work upon the Via Tiburtina. The first (f. 14) deals with the course of what he believed to be the original road before it reached the Porta Viminalis.

'Sed cum attentius loca illa contemplarer, et neque in aggere, neque in inaequali solo hinc et inde iacente indicia ulla perspicerem quae hunc antiquae viae ductum aut uti probabilem, aut saltem possibilem suaderent, vinitorem tandem, quem supra memini,[2] de re hac percontatus, intellexi viam silicibus stratam, ac multis ruderibus coopertam anno 1740, dum excavationes quaedam fiebant, inter plures parietinas detectam fuisse propius Diocletianas Thermas. Ad locum statim me contuli, quem non nihil reliquo vineae solo reperi. Viae directio, vinitore eodem referente, recta et ad rectos angulos versus aggeris medium tendere animadverti, ad locum scilicet qui passus circiter C. ab eo distabat, quem a Fabretto[3] designatum dixi. Ibi agger aliquantulum pariter humilior viae sulcum quodammodo demonstrabat, qui recta similiter porrectus in eandem portam Clausam incidisset ad quam Fabrettus suam viam perduxerat.'

It is clear from the plan which he gives that the piece of pavement referred to (at D) is just to the S. of the piscina of the baths of Diocletian, but the lettering is a little confused. Revillas seems to have been unable to find the prolongation of the road outside the Porta Viminalis, the position of which he indicates correctly, for he refers to Fabretti's observations, and adds: 'Viae porro eiusdem per hanc [Viminalem antiquam] portam directio, ad Viminalem novam [Porta Chiusa] prope meridionale Castrorum latus ut praediximus tendit. Quodsi hinc secus idem latus, perque occurrentes extra urbem vineas, recta linea ducatur, veteri simul atque hodiernae viae Tiburtinae paullo ultra S. Laurentii Basilicam[4] haec linea occurret: in quo quidem tractu, etsi nulla viae veteris vestigia hodie appareant, subter ingestam nihilominus vinetorum terram ea latitare nullatenus dubitabit quicunque in omnibus per orbem Romanum stratis viis admirabilem quoad fieri poterat rectitudinem servatam perpendat. . . . . Via ergo haec . . . haud alia esse potest quam veteris Tiburtinae pars, cui

[1] In this letter Sir Charles Frederick remarks: 'io vi avrei ciò mandato per mezzo di My Lord Carlisle, ma la difficoltà ch' io trovai di farne una versione in Italiano mi ha preoccupato.' Lord Carlisle (the fourth earl) was much interested in the antiquities of Rome, and *may* be the person referred to above, whose patronage Revillas sought or thought of seeking.

[2] He speaks of him a little further back (f. 9) as his informant with regard to the Servian wall: 'quum etenim ab vinitore, qui a multis iam annis vineam colebat, percontarer, num in terrae effossionibus veterum murorum quandoque emersissent, absque haesitatione respondebat, muri non lateritii, sed quadratis lapidibus exstructi ingentia frusta, multa humo cooperta non uno in loco secus aggere inventa fuisse, in parte eius extima.' He refers either to the Vigna dei Certosini or to one next to it within the Villa Peretti (Montalto).

[3] *De aquis* (ed. 1788), *Diss.* iii. tav. ii.

[4] From the draft of a paragraph, 'De diversione et mensura viae Tiburtinae ab urbe ad Albulas,' we may add the following: 'ubi viatrium laevorsum occurrit vinetis inserviens' (the Vicolo delle Mattonelle, as Gori calls it—*Porta e Basilica di S. Lorenzo*, 73).

sequut s (?) temporibus altera recens substituta silicibus minime strata [this is wrong] quae a Porta S. Laurentii seu nova Esquilina ad veterem viam per huiusce Martyris Basilicam ducit.

It is further to be noticed that Revillas adopts Fabretti's view as to the original course of the Via Collatina—that it diverged from the Via Tiburtina at the Porta Viminalis, which of course implies that the original Via Tiburtina is the road which in later times left the city by the Porta Chiusa (*supra*, 86).

Jordan (*Topographie*, i. 1. 355, n. 26) suggests it as a possibility—'Ist dieser statt wie später eine Abzweigung der Via Tiburtina ursprunglich eine von der porta Viminalis ausgehende selbständige Strasse gewesen?' Lanciani, on the other hand, considers that the road running from the Porta Viminalis to the Porta S. Lorenzo is the original Via Tiburtina (*Forma Urbis*, 17, 18).

Revillas is, however, alone in his view that the Via Collatina was cut by the line of the Aurelian wall midway between the Porta Chiusa and the Porta S. Lorenzo. Of such a line of road there is no trace, until the Vicolo dell' Osteria (see 87) is reached, *i.e.* well outside the Aurelian walls. Within them the line of the road has never been discovered, nor is there any postern to let it pass through. Nibby (*Mura di Roma*, 341) mentions a 'porticina' too close to the Porta S. Lorenzo to have served for an independent road.

Further on (p. 24) we get his views as to the course of the Via Praenestina:

'Illud equidem indubium esse debet, hodiernam Praenestinam viam, quae laevorsum ex Porta Majore initium nunc sumit, et veteri post passus circiter . . . iungitur, tunc stratam quando clausa fuit porta, quae veteri viae inserviebat, cuius vestigia cum intra, tum extra hodiernos muros in vineis est hortis recognovimus.'

This view is in all probability incorrect (cf. *Papers of the British School at Rome*, i. 138, 150 n. 1), though it is interesting to note that the road through the postern could be traced in Revillas' day, and also in Nardini's time, for in his *Roma Antica* (1666) he says: 'dentro le mura si scorge fra vigne il solco della strada, per cui vi s'andava' (p. 39 = ed. iv. vol. i. p. 75); whereas Lanciani, *Forma Urbis*, 24, 25, gives no indication of it. Bufalini's plan of Rome (1551)—sheet A3 of the reproduction published in Rome in 1879—indicates what would seem to be a road running outside the city wall at right angles to it, but this starts, not from the postern, which in the original (sheet ST) is clearly indicated, but from the N.W. side of the next tower but one to the N.W.

ADDENDA TO PAPERS, VOL. I., PP. 125–281.

P. 137, l. 29.—Several instalments of Professor Tomassetti's monograph on the Via Praenestina and Via Labicana have now appeared (*Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria*, 1902, 61 *sqq.*; 1903, 165 *sqq.*; 1904, 461 *sqq.*; 1905, 115 *sqq.*). I shall not as a rule deal with the additional points raised by him, but shall content myself by giving a general reference to his articles.

P. 140, l. 7.—The statement in the text is not correct. In working from Rome, it is true, the line of the road seems to disappear just to the W. of Casale Bertone : but, though it is blocked now by a modern wall, its cutting through the hill to the N. of Casale Bertone is still well preserved, though at present occupied by a gigantic manure heap ! It then passes across some flat ground where no traces of it are recognizable, and enters a cutting just behind the powder magazine a little way to the N.E. of the railway station called Prenestina. Here it follows the line of the aqueduct, which soon crosses to its southern edge (cf. p. 140, n. 1), and of a boundary line between two properties—which, however, is not clearly traceable in Cingolani's map, and may not therefore be very old.

On its N. side are traces of the foundations of a round tomb, and the remains of a vaulted structure, either a tomb, or part of a villa which can be made out a little further to the N.

From this point the road descends—still in a cutting—towards the valley of the Fosso Gottifredi. A little after it emerges on to the low ground, traces of a tomb constructed of travertine blocks appear between the aqueduct and the railway. To the N. of the road are the remains of a villa in *opus reticulatum* and brick—one of the bricks bore the stamp *C.I.L.* xv. 432, belonging to the end of the 2nd century after Christ. To the E. of this point two large paving-stones may be seen lying loose in the field ; and to the E. again, on the further bank of the stream, and still on the N. of the road, are the remains of another villa. It must have been close to this point that a small portion of the pavement of an ancient road was discovered in 1886, though its exact position and direction are not recorded. Professor Gatti has been kind enough to inform me, however, that it crossed the railway obliquely, and it depends on the acuteness of the angle whether or no it belonged to the Via Collatina, which should run almost in the same straight line with the railway.

If indeed it were not for this discovery, one would be tempted to believe that the road might have kept to the N. of the railway, and run just to the S. of the mediaeval (or late classical) ruins at point 26 (see map i), for there is a dip in the field which seems to mark the line of an ancient road.

P. 141, l. 15.—These quarries are thus referred to by Strabo (v. 3. 11, p. 238) *ἐντεῦθεν δὲ* (from Tibur) *διέξεισι* (the Anio) *πεδίον εὐκαρπότατον παρὰ τὰ μέταλλα τοῦ λίθου τοῦ*

Τιβουρτίνου καὶ τοῦ ἐν Γαβίοις τοῦ καὶ ἐρυθροῦ λεγομένου, ὥστε τὴν ἐκ τῶν μετάλλων ἐξαγωγὴν καὶ τὴν πορθμείαν εὐμαρῆ τελέως εἶναι, τῶν πλείστων ἔργων τῆς Ῥώμης ἐντεῦθεν κατασκευαζομένων. It is perhaps to these quarries that Vitruvius (ii. 7. 1) refers as producing a soft stone : 'sunt . . . aliae molles, uti sunt circa urbem Rubrae Pallenses Fidenates Albanae,' though it is not impossible that he is speaking of Saxa Rubra or ad Rubras on the Via Flaminia (Nibby, *Analisi*, iii. 31 ; *C.I.L.* xi. p. 567).

P. 148, l. 13.—Further investigations have made it clear that the branch spoken of as going due E. after crossing the Osa itself divides into two. One of these branches runs in a north-easterly direction through a cutting which a modern quarry line crosses on an embankment, passing just S.E. of the tombs mentioned on p. 146, l. 20, and S. of point 47. Traces of it are, naturally, not to be found in the flat river valley, but it reappears just to the S. of the Casale della Lunghezzina, where its cutting is clear. Further to the E. a few of its paving-stones are to be found scattered about : it passes just to the N. of point 40, and S. of the remains of a villa, which, besides fragments of brick, include a portion of a rectangular or square structure of travertine—an area paved with slabs, and enclosed by blocks of the same stone with a plinth moulding on the inner side, which is carried round the angles, while the outer side goes straight down. Only one side of the area can be measured, and that is 3·6 mètres long. It cannot be the edging of a peristyle, for the plinth moulding is not appropriate for a step, and it is probably the interior of some chamber—possibly a tomb—with walls of blocks of travertine.

To the S.W. and S.E. of this building are scanty traces of brick.

The further course of the road is uncertain, but there are a few paving-stones which, in all probability, belong to it in the field opposite the point where the sulphurous water from the Aquae Albulae discharges into the Anio. It is a curious fact that the selce extends as far as the S. bank of the river at this point : it is no doubt a lava stream from the crater of the lake of Gabii. To the N. of the Botte dell' Acqua (which supplies the Fontanile Cecapesci) are the remains of two Roman reservoirs, one of them well preserved, divided into two chambers each 3 mètres wide and 6·05 mètres long by a wall 43 cm. thick, with an opening in the middle 1·27 mètre wide : the outer walls are 60 cm. thick : of the other, more to the N.E., only the outline is preserved. There are traces of other buildings, including a fragment of a column of *giallo antico*.

The road continued, apparently, to the N.E., but over the flat alluvial land it cannot be traced, though a few paving-stones are to be found in the bridge at point 40, W. of the Fontanile delle Monichelle.

From this point, or a little to the N. of it, it seems to have ascended a valley to the E.N.E., passing to the N. of point 84 on the map, and to the S. of the remains of a villa on the top of the Colle Cesarano. A few paving-stones may be seen here, but not *in situ*. It then appears to have descended, turning at right angles, through a cutting (the traces of which have been to a considerable extent obliterated by a modern farm track), passing just to the S. of some ruins at point 72 (now almost entirely destroyed) marked in Bulgarini's map. Here it joined the present road, without, as it would seem, crossing it immediately. It is just possible that a branch kept along on the top of the hill near point 85, but the evidence is insufficient.

Returning to the crossing over the Osa, we may now follow the other branch of the road, which runs due E. It passes not very far N. of the Mola : its paving-stones may be seen in a fieldwall at the point where the lane to the Casale della

Lunghezzina goes off. To the S. of it at this point are the traces of a building. It passes not very far N. of the grotto described on pp. 177 *sqq.*, leaving the remains of a villa on the N., which lie just S. of point 61 (Segnale Muro di Cinta), and here many loose paving-stones belonging to it are to be seen on the top of the hill. It then descends by a clearly marked cutting into the valley to the E., passing to the S. of some mediaeval ruins built over some rock-cut passages, which probably served as water cisterns, and reascends gradually, with one turn to the N., resuming its original direction near the top of the hill. There it passes through some large selce quarries, now abandoned, and probably of Roman date,[1] then descending reaches the flat alluvial ground, and cannot easily be traced ; but it must soon fall into the other branch which we followed first.

The two roads of which we have been speaking have a certain interest, inasmuch as one or other of them (generally the southern) appears in most of the maps of the Campagna hitherto published as a prolongation of the Via Collatina, their course being sometimes distorted in order to square with the erroneous theory that Collatia stood at Castellaccio.

The earliest map of the Campagna known to me—an unsigned map, dated 1557, and bearing the arms of Paul IV—forms an exception, as it shows the road from Rome to Lunghezza, and then, quite correctly, the road from Lunghezza (or near it) to Lunghezzina and 'feriera'—no doubt a house near the 'sorgente d'acqua ferruginosa.'

Ameti (*Il Lazio*), Fabretti (*De Aquis*, map opp. p. 90), and Cingolani (*Topografia dell' Agro Romano*) mark a road passing to the N. of Casale Benzone (corresponding so far with the correct course of the Via Collatina : see p. 144), then running to Castellaccio, then across the S. end of the Pantano di Guazzo (now called Pantano di Granaraccio) to the cutting E. of Colle Fiorito, on the road to S. Vittorino. They probably mean it to fall into the line of the modern Via di Poli at the bend between the 17th and 18th kilomètres (cf. p. 177).

Nibby (*Analisi*, map) marks a still paved road running from the Osteria dell' Osa to the sharp bend of the Via di Poli between the 17th and 18th kilomètres, and then in a straight line to the N.E. end of the Villa of Hadrian, falling, no doubt, into the road passing by Casale Galli. His Via Collatina, after passing Castellaccio, runs to the Osteria dell' Osa.

Canina (in his map of the Campagna, repeated in *Edifizi*, v. tav. ii.) takes the road first from Lunghezza to Casale Lunghezzina, and then across the flat ground and the Colle Cesarano to join the road from Ponte Lucano to Le Cappannelle at Ponte Lungo della Foce. It is he and Nibby who come nearest to the truth.

P. 149, n. 2.—Hülsen (*Rhein. Mus.* 1890, 284) is inclined to attribute the milestone bearing the number 7 (which originally served to support a bust of Annia Regilla in the estate of Herodes Atticus known as the Triopeion) to the Via Labicana, and not to the Praenestina, which was further away from the place where it first stood. It was found in the garden of the monastery of S. Eusebio on the Esquiline in 1698, having been brought there to serve as building material.

[1] Some way to the S. of the road, on the E. edge of the Fosso di S. Giuliano, is the foundation of a rectangular tomb, and to the S. of this a villa, while the Casa Saponara stands close to another ; on the N. edge of the modern Via di Poli is a water reservoir, with a villa to the E. of it ; and there are traces of a fourth villa on the same ridge to the N. of the road, S.E. of the Fontanile Cecapesci. It seems probable, therefore, that a road ran N. and S. either along the ridge or along the valley, but no traces of it appear to exist.

P. 159, l. 30.—It is possible that this road was the Via Praenestina itself, for in the modern road at this point there are no traces of pavement; and Graham (*op. cit.* 6) speaks as though in 1819 the road ran close under Tor de' Schiavi: cf. also Canina, *Edifizi*, vi. tav. 76.

P. 164, l. 14.—A statue of Juno(?) was found lying upon this pavement; it is now at Boynton (Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*, p. 216, no. 1).

P. 171, l. 7.—A sarcophagus with the battle between the Athenians and Amazons was found in this tenuta[1] in 1744, and given to the Capitoline Museum by Benedict XIV (Ficoroni, *mem.* 88, in Fea, *Misc.* i. 160; Helbig, *op. cit.* i. no. 530). At Prato Bagnato, though, according to Michaelis (who places it on the Rome side of Tor de' Schiavi—*Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*, 346), about 1760,[2] La Piccola also found the statues nos. 30, 32, and the head no. 108 of the Ince collection (the inscription Βούπαλος ἐποίει on the plinth of no. 30 is a forgery—Kaibel, *I.G.I.* 135*). The heads nos. 102, 184, 185 are noted as having been found 'on the Via Praenestina.'

Excavations 'at Lunghezza' produced several busts in the same collection—nos. 117, 120, 148 (said to have been found 'near Lacus Gabinus,' like 198, 199, so that these may have come from a separate excavation), 163, 182, 183, 193, 198, 199). As the objects were apparently not acquired from La Piccola, but some of them from Volpato and Jenkins, it is impossible to be sure whether they came from the same site as those mentioned above.

P. 177, l. 16.—The pavement of this road may be seen to the N. of point 58 (the villas along its course are all marked a little too far S.). Here it is crossed by a branch road, which ascends from the valley of the Osa and, after going on W. for a while, bifurcates: the W. branch probably joins the road coming N.N.W. from the 14th kilomètre of the Via Praenestina (p. 175, l. 1), while the S. branch would fall into the road which diverges from it N.E. by N. (*ibid.* l. 3). On the main road to the S. of point 58 are the remains of a tomb, and a sepulchral cippus with a portrait head, the inscription of which has perished.

„ l. 21.—A kilomètre E.S.E. of the 20th kilomètre of this road are the remains of a villa—vaulted substructures; and a little further in the same direction is a reservoir and about 200 yards S. of the Casale Granaraccio another. Pinza in the map given with his article on Gabii (*Bull. Com.* 1903, 325, Fig. 1) marks this road 'Via Labicana'—a palpable error.

„ l. 28.—The remains of a large villa exist on the Colle Tasso, to the N. of this cutting: and it is here that Revillas in his map indicates 'Aesulae forte rudera.'

P. 180, l. 16.—An important article by Pinza on Gabii and its remains has appeared in *Bull. Com.* 1903, 321 *sqq.*, which supplements my account in several points. Among the numerous illustrations will be found an accurate plan of the temple and photographs of the pottery found in the tomb now in the Museo di Papa Giulio.

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[1] It is somewhat incorrectly described as being outside the Porta Salaria by the authorities cited.

[2] This date seems to be correct for the discovery of the statues, but not for that of the inscriptions—compare Visconti, *op. var.* ii. 445, with Amaduzzi, *Nov. Fior.* 1786, 185, 295. As to the locality, it may be noted that Visconti places it close to the Acqua Bollicante, which is on the Rome side of Tor de' Schiavi: but in this case the tenuta must have been much larger than it is now. In any case, 'right' is a mistake (copied from Amaduzzi) for 'left.'

P. 185, n. 1.—The pavement of this road has recently been discovered to the N.N.W. of Monte Falcone, in the course of agricultural operations. Close to it were found the ruins of a part of what may have been a bathing establishment—a building of unknown extent, floored with large slabs of *sperone*; also fragments of ornamental stucco mouldings, which make it impossible to suppose that it was merely a water reservoir; while springs may still be noticed here.

A little further to the W., at the fountain marked in the map (*Papers*, i. map iv.), I found the right half of a brickstamp, which appears to be unpublished :

P. 187, l. 4.—The person referred to is Frederick, fourth earl of Bristol, Bishop of Derry. The collection which he had formed in Rome was plundered and dispersed in 1798, so that the fate of the mosaic pavement is uncertain (Michaelis, *op. cit.* 108).

P. 194, l. 12.—The apse of this building has recently collapsed, so that the photograph (Fig. 14) has an interest of its own. The mortar used in its construction was of very bad quality. Among the fragments of bricks (no whole bricks were to be seen) which were used in the wall, several bore stamps—three of them apparently belong to the first century A.D.—*C.I.L.* xv. 2303, 2330a, and another of similar character to the first, but which appears to be unpublished :

C · GEM · RVF · Q *C. Gemini Rufi q(uaestoris ?)*

Other fragments were found, which I have not been able to identify, also a fragment of an inscription of the 2nd century :

P. 198, l. 2.—To the N. of the W. end of the Casale di Pantano the pavement of a road 2·50 mètres wide, running 15° W. of S., has recently been found, at about 4 feet below ground level : in neither direction can its prolongation be traced ; but we were informed that the whole basin of Pantano was traversed by ancient roads, which were frequently discovered in the course of agricultural operations.

,, l. 27.—This inscription has recently come to light again, having been used as building material in the Casale at Pantano. Visconti's copy of it is quite correct, but he does not mention the fact that a N was cut before TRA, and then erased as an obvious error. I failed to see, too, the points after DIVI and DVCTVM which he gives in his copy. On the other hand, there is clearly one after QVAM. The inscription is carved upon an entablature of travertine 73 cm. in height and 31 in thickness, the first three lines occupying the frieze (the letters being 45 mm. high), and the last the architrave (the letters being 65 mm. high).

P. 198, l. 32.—A further examination of the milestone, in company with Prof. Hülsen, has led to the following result. There are certainly traces of a numeral (no doubt an X) before the III. The *praenomen* at the beginning of the third line is either *L(ucius)* or *P(ublius)*. There are no signs of any letter before CVR, the surface being much weathered. The stone is now in the Museo delle Terme.

III
M · POPILLI · M · F
II CAECILI · Q · F ·
CVR

P. 204, l. 6.—In the map added to Fabretti, *de Aquis*, ed. ii. (opp. p. 90), we find 'rudera veteris oppidi' indicated on the Colle Vigna.

P. 220, l. 3.—The first milestone of the Via Labicana was discovered in 1903 about 200 mètres outside the Porta Maggiore—not *in situ*, but at no great distance from its original position. It was erected by Vespasian in A.D. 77 (*Bull. Com.* 1903, 371; *Not. Scav.* 1903, 513; *Röm. Mitt.* 1903, 336).

„ l. 13.—It seems as though the tomb of the Fonteii had been previously discovered and partly excavated: four busts, with the relief of a man sitting and paying out money, and an inscription of a *dispensator Volusiae Torquatae* are mentioned (*Arch. Zeit.* 1847–48, p. 5*): cf. Tomassetti, *Arch. Soc. Rom. Stor. Patr.* 1902, 77.

„ l. 27.—The Vigna Lepri is on the left of the road, not on the right. Here was found recently a sepulchral inscription on a slab of peperino, in senarii (*C.I.L.* vi. 36525).

P. 222, l. 12.—At either the second or the third kilomètre of the modern road (*Bull. Com.* 1903, 299, says the second; *Not. Scav.* 1903, 200, the third) a sepulchral cippus with inscription, a terracotta sarcophagus, and remains of tombs were found in digging for the foundations of a house.

P. 226, l. 3.—Nibby (*Schede*, i. cover) notes a slab of travertine at the second osteria to the right after Torre Pignattara, bearing the following inscription in good lettering:

IN · FRONTE
P · XLV
IN AGRO
P · LXXXIIII

„ l. 14.—Another copy of this inscription is given by Tomassetti, *Arch. Soc. Rom. Stor. Patr.* 1902, 79, n. 1.

P. 227, l. 29.—The inscription *C.I.L.* vi. 1324 was not found here, as Tomassetti (*op. cit.* p. 88, n.) states, but between the 7th mile of the Via Labicana and the 7th mile of the Via Latina; nor is it a milestone (*Bull. Inst.* 1865, 84).

P. 229, l. 1.—The two groups of remains indicated in the map at point 53 and just N. of it (to the S. of the Torre di Centocelle) belong to one very large villa: to the S.S.E. at point 54 there are two other mounds of ruins, about 50 yards apart.

P. 238, l. 2.—In the remains of this villa I found several fragments of the brickstamp *C.I.L.* xv. 781 (1st century A.D.).

P. 240, l. 10.—On the hill known as Passo del Lombardo are the remains of several villas and of a very large subterranean water reservoir with quadripartite vaulting

—six arches in one direction, and seven in the other, each of about 3 mètres span. There is also a road descending through the valley to the W.—the pavement of which is, in places, to be seen in the Fosso di Luciano—which starts from the Via Cavona.

P. 240, l. 34.—At the villa of Grotte Dama two fragments of maiolica were found in 1901 (*Not. Scav.* 1901, 202); and the discovery of considerable remains of the Roman villa, and of a mediaeval church built into it, is described by Grossi-Gondi in *Bull. Com.* 1902, 105 *sqq.* He appears to consider the road running 30° S. of W. to be a part of that which led up to Tusculum, making it leave the Via Labicana at the 10th mile, and not, as I do, at the 9th.

P. 243, l. 15.—Another inscription found here is given in *Bull. Com.* 1902, 323. Near this was probably the place known as La Selvotta, where the discovery of a villa, with various fragments of decorative marbles and the brickstamps *C.I.L.* xv. 705, 1244a (end of 1st century A.D.), is noted in *Not. Scav.* 1901, 484.

Other discoveries made between the 10th and 14th mile of the Via Labicana by Padre Grossi-Gondi are described by him in *Bull. Com. cit.* 321 *sqq.*

P. 251, n. 2.—This stamp has been already published in *Not. Scav.* 1899, 50; it occurred on several tiles forming the floor of a drain running from the temple of Vesta towards the house of the Vestals, and is attributed to the 1st century A.D.

P. 254, l. 26.—The church of S. Hyacinthus has been discovered by Padre Grossi-Gondi (*Bull. Com. cit.*). I may notice in this connexion that I did not mean in n. 2. to imply that the catacomb of the SS. Quattro Coronati was anywhere in the neighbourhood of the 14th mile. Its site is, as I quite recognize, undetermined.

P. 263, l. 21.—Tomassetti in a recent article, which is also of considerable importance, and should be consulted for various points of detail (*Diss. Accad. Pont. Arch.* vii. 45 *sqq.*) upon discoveries in the territory of Labici, remarks that Monte Salomone, if not the site of the primitive town, was certainly an ancient fortress: he also mentions that the ditches now to be seen there are remains of recent fortifications thrown up by the Spanish troops.

P. 264, l. 17.—Specimens of early Latin pottery, with a scyphos of Proto-Corinthian type, were found in a vineyard near Colonna belonging to Giuseppe Crescenzi, in 1902, but details as to their discovery were not forthcoming (*Not. Scav.* 1902, 115).

P. 269, l. 3.—For this building cf. Tomassetti, *Diss. Acc. Pont. Arch.* vii. 57 *sqq.*; *Arch. Soc. Rom. Stor. Patr.* 1904, 461 *sqq.*

P. 20, l. 15.—Cf. however *Not. Scav.* 1905, 39.

P. 21, l. 10.—It should have been mentioned that the figure in the text is a full-size reproduction of the stamp.

P. 41, n. 3.—Cancel from 'two others in the Capitol' to 'drunken old woman' and substitute the following: 'and also of portions of two groups belonging to a cycle representing the labours of Hercules. A statue of Hercules came to light first of all, belonging, as a matter of fact, to a group of Hercules and the Kerynaean stag: this, however, was not realized, and when, shortly afterwards, a fragment with part of the Hydra came to light, the sculptor Algardi tried to fit it on to the Hercules, and, failing to do this, proceeded to employ the motive, and to restore the Hercules as killing the Hydra. The statue, thus restored, is now in the Capitol (*ibid.* i. no. 412), and the fragment of the Hydra stands beside it. A statue of a drunken old woman, found here also, is in the same museum.'

P. 45, l. 15.—Cf. also Durm, *Baukunst der Etrusker und Römer*, ed. ii. (1905), p. 286, fig. 290.

P. 47, l. 5.—'Ecloge' was first substituted for 'Egloge,' the reading of the MSS., in the Bâle edition of 1533 (see Roth's *apparatus criticus*).

P. 61, n. 2.—Mr. Stuart Jones proposes to read Καινινίτας, a name which, in other passages, has given the copyists some trouble (cf. the *apparatus criticus* to Dionys. ii. 32 and Plut. *Rom.* 16), and which they sometimes reproduced as Κενινίτας, with the usual confusion of ε and αι. ΚΕΝΙΝ might, he thinks, have been easily mistaken for ΤΕΛΛΗΝ (ι and η being of the same value owing to itacism), whereas Φειδηναίους is not very close to the MSS. This reading suits the context quite as well (*infra*, 65 *sqq.*).

P. 69. l. 1.—The fact to which Pliny alludes is rather, as Mr. Stuart Jones points out, the choice of the Anio by Augustus as the boundary of Regio I. Nissen, *Italische Landeskunde*, ii. 464, suggests that Fidenae and Nomentum (and the same applies to Ficulea, which he does not name) are mentioned by Pliny in the lists of both Regio I and Regio IV, because they possessed territory on both banks of the Anio. The supposition is quite a possible one in the case of Fidenae, but it would make the territory of the other two towns far more extensive than we have any other reason to suppose it to have been (cf. *C.I.L.* xiv. pp. 440, 447, 453).

P. 71, l. 12.—The peacock has a place in the symbolism of Christian art, and is spoken of by S. Augustine (*De Civ. Dei*, lxxi. 4) as typifying immortality, owing to a belief current in his day that its flesh never decayed. Cf. Frohner, *Collection Tyszkiewicz*, p. 68, no. 187.

P. 72, l. 28.—The church is spoken of as 'S. Maria in fundo Argisano' in a document recording its restoration in 1111 by Ottaviano I, Count of Palombara, to the Benedictine monks of S. Giovanni in Argentella (*infra*, 177), which is now preserved in the Archivio di Stato at Rome among the archives of S. Silvestro in Capite. I am indebted to Signor Bonfigli for this information.

P. 153, l. 29.—It is not necessary to suppose that the same excavations are described here and *infra*, 159, *fin.* On the other hand, it is fairly clear that those described here ll. 30 *sqq.* are identical with those mentioned *infra*, 160, ll. 1 *sqq.*; certain discrepancies in Sebastiani's list of statues are probably due to error on his part.

P. 181, n. 1.—This footnote should be cancelled.

P. 188, l. 23.—Cf. however Bernoulli, *Röm. Ikonographie*, ii. 1. p. 367.

P. 195, l. 25.—The place where this bridge is situated is called Quarto Pomata (*supra*, 147, n. 1).

INDEX.

NOTE.—*Names belonging to the classical period are in italics.*

ACQUORIA, Ponte dell', 108 *sqq*, 149 n.[1], 150 *sqq*.
Ad Novas (= *Vicus Novus* = Osteria Nuova), 8, 38
Aeflanus mons, 133 *sqq*., 196
Aefula, 131 n., 132 *sqq*., 172
Aelius Rubrius, Villa of, 195
Aesula, see *Aefula*
Affliano, Monte, see *Aefula*
Agger of *Servius Tullius*, 199
S. Agnese, Church of, 41 *sqq*., 208
S. Agnese, Vicolo di, 12, 13, 40
Aguzzano, Tenuta di, 52, 100
Alberoni, Vicolo degli, 12
S. Alexander, Cemetery of, 63
Allia, 23 *sqq*.
Ameriola, 183, 187
S. Andrea, Grotta di, 34
S. Angelo in Arcese, Monte, 133 *sqq*.
S. Angelo Romano or in Capoccia, 179, 183, 185, 186
S. Angelo in Piavola, 160, 163
Anio Novus, 135, 194
Anio, River, 16, 45, 97, 126, 203
Anio Vetus, 44, 135, 192, 193 n.[1], 194
Antemnae, 14 *sqq*.
S. Anthimus, Church of, 31
S. Antonio, Casale (near Lago della Regina), 119
S. Antonio, Casale (on the Via Nomentana), 65
S. Antonio, Monastery of (at Tivoli), 161 *sqq*.
S. Antonio, Colle (near Vitriano), 171
S. Antonio, Ponte, 133, 196
Aquae Albulae, 117 *sqq*.
Aquae Labanae, 28, 71
Arcione, Castell', 114, 115
Arco Oscuro, Vicolo dell', 9 n.[5]

BAGNI delle Acque Albule, 117 *sqq*.
Barco, Casaccia del, 122 *sqq*.
S. Basilio, Casale, 99
Battista, Casale, 169, 175, 180
Belladonna, 49
Belli, Vigna, 81 *sqq*.
Belli, Casino, 77, 176
Bellini, Casale, 166
Bertone, Casale, 201
Bettina, Fosso (= *Allia*), 23 *sqq*., 49 n.[3]
S. Biagio, Colle, 76
Bona Dea, Temple of the, 134 *sqq*.
Brancadoro, Villa, 92
Braschi, Villa, 192
Brutus, Villa of (so-called), 191 *sqq*.
Buffalotta, Fosso della, 23
Buffalotta, Via della, 47, 48
Bulgarini, Colle, 130

Caecilia, Via, 7, 8
Caenina, 65 *sqq*., 173, 208
Caesonii, Villa of the, 128 *sqq*.
Cameria, 76, 77, 83, 183
Campo Limpido, 166
Capannelle, Osteria delle, 130, 137
Capobianco, 64
Cappellone, Il (= *S. Symphorosa*, Church of), 114
Caprae Palus, 44
Caprine, Le, 126
Carciano, Strada di, 190 *sqq*.
Carolano, Fosso, 32 *sqq*.
Casa Cotta, Cantoniera, 29, 31
Cassius, Villa of (so-called), 153, 191 *sqq*.
Castel Cesi, 55
Castel Chiodato, 58, 71
Castel Giubileo, 17, 22
Castelli, Vigna (= Franz, Vigna = Maraini, Vigna), 43
Castelluccio, 176
Castra Praetoria, 11, 38, 86
Catullus, Villa of (so-called), 163
Cavaliere, Casale del, 112
Cavallari, Casale dei, 103
Cavamonte, 140
Cecapesci, Fontanile, 202

Cecchina, Casale della, 52
Cecchina, Torraccio della, 53
Cerino, Colle, 108
Cesarano, Colle, 128 *sqq.*
Cesarina, Casale della, 59
Chiusa, Porta, 86, 199, 200
Cigliano, Colle, 173
Civitas Figlina, 13
Claudia, Aqua, 135, 196, 197
Civitella, La, 187
Clivus Cucumeris, 9
Coazzo, Casale, 59
Coazzo, Ruderi del, 53, 58, 99
Coccanari, Casale, 169
Cocceio, Villa di, 169
Collatina, Via, 200, 201 *sqq.*
Collegio Irlandese, 190
Collina, Porta, 7, 38
S. Colomba, Casale, 26, 49 n.[3]
Colonnella, Colle della, 176
Colonnelle, Lago delle, 117 *sqq.*
Constantia, Mausoleum of, 42
Corcolle, 138 *sqq.*
Corese, Fosso, 33 *sqq.*
Corniculum, 56, 65 n.[1], 183, 186
Corzano, Grotte di, 169
S. Costanza, Church of, 42
Creta, Osteria della, 34, 36, 76
Cretone, 72
Crostarosa, Vigna, 43
Crustumerium, 23, 50, 51
Cupa, Via, 87, 88, 93, 94
Cures, 34 *sqq.*
Cynthia, Villa of (so-called), 153 *sqq.*, 208
S. Cyriaca, Catacomb of, 89 *sqq.*

DIAVOLO, Ponte del, 8, 37
Diavolo, Sedia del, 45

Eretum, 8, 26 *sqq.*, 71
S. Ermô, Chapel of, 125
Esquilina, Porta, 85 *sqq.*
S. Eusebio, Torre, 103
S. Eutyches, Cemetery of, 70

FABBRICA PALMIERI, 34, 70, 176
Faccenda, Casale, 174
Farinelli, Colli, 164, 171
Faustiniano, Colle, 132 *sqq.*, 196
Favale, Il, 166
Ficana, 55
Ficulea, 13, 59 *sqq*
Ficulensis, Via, 5, 55
Fidenae, 17 *sqq.*, 25, 48
S. Filippo, Vicolo di, 9, 10
Fiora, 28 *sqq.*, 74, 83
Fiorito, Colle, 131
Fontana, Vicolo della, 12
Forno, Osteria del, 103
Fosse, Le, 126
S. Francesco, 177
Franz, Vigna (=Castelli, Vigna = Maraini, Vigna), 43
Fuscus, Villa of (so-called), 195 n.[1]

GATTACECA, 71
S. Genesius, Oratory of, 93
Gennaro, Monte, 77
Gentile, Monte, 65
Gericomio, 145, 146, 196, 197
Giacchetti, Colle, 58
S. Giovanni in Argentella, 177, 178
S. Giovanni in Camporazio, 136
S. Giovanni, Lago, 119
Greci, Villa dei (=Collegio Irlandese), 190
S. Gregorio, 134
Greppe, Casale di, 57
Grosso, Ponte, 82 *sqq.*
Grotta Marozza, 28, 71
Grotta Papale, 195
Grotta Volpe, 34
Grotte Sconce, 194
Grotte di Torri, 35, 36
Grottelle, Le, 175
Grottoline, 72

HADRIAN, Villa of, 142, 143
Hercules, Temple of, 130
S. Hippolytus, Catacomb of, 93
Horace, Villa of, 136, 161 *sqq.*

INCASTRO, Monte dell', 104
Inviolata, Torraccio dell', 105

Labicana, Via, 206, 207
Leonina, Casale, 142, 189 n.
S. Lorenzo, Church of, 89 *sqq.*, 199
S. Lorenzo, Porta, 85 *sqq.*, 200
Lucano, Ponte, 109, 110, 126 *sqq.*
Lucilius Paetus, Mausoleum of, 12
Lunghezza, 113, 202
Lunghezzina, Casale della, 202, 203
Lungo, Colle, 185
Lupara, Torre, 65

MADANO, Monte, 78, 83, 84

Madonna della Quercia, 8, 38
Maecenas, Villa of (so-called), 150
Magliano or Magugliano, Fosso (=Marco Simone, Fosso di=Pratolungo, Fosso di), 102, 103, 186
Malatiscolo, Colle, 174
Malpasso, Ponte di, 23
Mammolo, Ponte, 97 *sqq.*
Mancini, Torre, 66
Mantellate, Casale delle, 165
Manzi, Casale, 71, 208
Maraini, Vigna (=Castelli, Vigna=Franz, Vigna), 43
Marcellina, 173, 174
Marcellina Vecchia, 176
Marcia, Aqua, 86 *sqq.*, 135, 194
Marcigliana, Casale della, 24
Marcigliana Vecchia, 24, 26
Marco, S. (near Tivoli), 188
Marco Simone, Casale di, 55
Marco Simone, Fosso di (=Magliano, Fosso), 103, 186
Marco Simone, Laghetto di, 104
Marcoraino (or Mercorano), Colle, 134, 196 n.[1]
S. Maria della Strada, 188, 189
Marmorata, La, 92
Marocco, Colle, 178
Martellona, Casale, 110, 116
Mastorta, Torre, 106, 108, 179
Medullia, 172 n.[1], 175, 183, 186
Medusa, Tomba della, 86, 87
Mentana, 68 *sqq.*
Mercato, Ponte, 37
Molette, Osteria delle, 56, 57
Monastero, Casale, 99 n.
Mondo, Tempio del, 151
Montecelio, 106, 179, 181 *sqq.*
Monte Libretti, 74 *sqq.*
Monte Maggiore, 31
Monte Rotondo, 26 *sqq.*
Monte Venere, 83
Monteverde, 174 *sqq.*
Montes Corniculani, see *Cornículum*
Monticelli, *see* Montecelio
Moricone, 76, 83, 84
Moricone, Osteria di, 29, 74

NARDI, VIGNA, 94
Nerola, Osteria, 8, 37
Nocelle, Colle, 167 *sqq.*
Nomentana, Porta, 38
Nomentana, Via, 4, 5, 38–84
Nomentano, Ponte, 45
Nomentum, 68 *sqq.*
Norba, 79

OLEVANO (or Oleole), 61, 63
Oro, Monte d', 67
Orvinium, 83
Oscura, Valle, 57
Osteria, Vicolo dell', 87, 93
Osteria Nuova dei Massacci (=*Ad Novas*=*Vicus Novus*), 8, 38
Οὐέρεστις ποταμός, 136 n.[2]

PALAMENTO, Fosso, 81 *sqq.*
Palmieri, Fabbrica, 34, 70, 176
Palombara, 76 *sqq.*
Parioli, Via dei, 9
Parioli, Viale dei (=Viale della Regina), 39 *sqq.*
Passerano, 139, 140
S. Pastore, 152, 155, 165, 169
Paterno, Carrara di, 148 n.[1]
Patinaria, Via, 47
Pazzi, Casale dei, 52
Pedeschiavo, Colle, 72
Pedicate, Le, 84
Pedum, 140
Petrucci, Casale, 122
Phaon, Villa of, 46
Piccolomini, Vigna, 93
Pichini, Casale, 57
Pietralata, Tenuta di, 96
Pietralata, Vicolo di, 40
Pilo Rotto, Tenuta del, 106
Pinciana, Via, 10
Pisoni, Villa dei, 188
Pissina, Grotte della, 184, 185
Plancus, Villa of (so-called), 188, 189
Plautii, Tomb of the, 127
Poggio Cesi, 186 n.[2]
Poli, 137
Poli, Via di, 130 *sqq.*
Policlinico, 87
Ponte Terra, Fosso di, 147, 195
Portonaccio, Casale del, 95
Praenestina, Via, 200, 203 *sqq.*
Praetorian Camp, see *Castra Praetoria*
Prati, Casale dei, 179, 180
Pratolungo, Fosso di (=Magliano, Fosso di), 102
SS. Primus and Felicianus, Cemetery of, 70
S. Priscilla, Catacomb of, 14

QUARRIES of travertine, 123 *sqq.*
Querini, Vigna, 87

Querquetulani, 138
Quintilius Varus, Villa of, 154 *sqq.*, 208

RAVA ROSCIA, 79
Redicicoli, Torre, 47
Regillum, 83
Regina, Lago della, 110, 117 *sqq.*
Regresso, 190, 191
Regulus, Villa of, 97, 119
S. Restitutus, Cemetery of, 70
Rimane, 29
Ripoli, Colle, 190
Rondanini, Vigna, 87
Rosolina, La, 189
Rosso, Casale, 112
Rotavelle, 81 *sqq.*
Rubellii, Villa of the, 190
Rufini, Vigna, 43

Sacer mons, 46
Salaria, Porta, 11
Salaria Vetus, Via, 9 *sqq.*
Salaria, Via, 4, 5, 7–38
Salario, Ponte, 16
Sassula, 134, 173
Savini, Vigna, 94
Scalzacane, Grotte di, 164
Scaptia, 139, 140
Scarpellata, 175
Scocciasanta, 173, 174
Segnale Muro di Cinta, 202
Selciata, Colle, 179
Serena, 142
Serpentara, Torre, 17
Sette Bagni, Casale di, 23
Settecamini, Osteria dei, 103, 104, 111
Sinibaldi, Casale, 180, 181
Spada, Villa (=*Fidenae*), 17 *sqq.*
Spirito Santo, Casale, 148
Stazzano, 83
S. Stefano, Colle, 143 *sqq.*
S. Stefano (near Montecelio), 181 *sqq.*
Strada Vecchia di Montecelio, 104 *sqq.*
Strada Vecchia di Palombara, 54 *sqq.*, 99, 187
S. Symphorosa, Church of (=Il Cappellone), 114

TARTARI, Lago dei, 106, 116
Tavernucole, Osteria delle, 114
Tesoro, Colle del, 171
Tibur, 5 *sqq.*, 84, 109, 162, 185
Tiburtina, Porta, 85 *sqq.*
Tiburtina, Via, 4 *sqq.*, 84–197
Tiutillo, Colle, 77 *sqq.*
Tivoli, see *Tibur*
Tor S. Giovanni, Casale, 50
Tor S. Giovanni, Via di, 50
Torre dei Sordi, Casale, 116
Torrione, 136
Tosse, Tempio della, 148 *sqq.*
Tre Madonne, Vicolo delle, 9 n.[5]
Treponti, 74
Truglia, 163
Truglio, 126
Turrita, Colle, 172, 173

Valeria, Via, 85
Vallemara, 185
Valle Oscura, 57
Valvisciolo, 79
Vazoletto, Fosso, 176, 178, 180
Veneziano, Colle, 81
Ventidius Bassus, Villa of, 164, 165
Venturi, Vigna, 89, 91
Verano, Campo, 89 *sqq.*
Vergata, Torre, 56, 102
Vibii Vari, Villa of the, 143 *sqq.*
Vicus Novus (= *Ad Novas* = Osteria Nuova), 8, 38
Vigne Nuove, Via delle, 46
Viminalis, Porta, 85 *sqq.*, 199, 200
Vincenzo, S., Church of, 180
Virgo, Aqua, 9 n.[5], 44, 96
Vitriano, 152, 155, 164, 165, 169 *sqq.*
Vittorie, Casale delle, 54
S. Vittorino, 131
Vopiscus, Villa of, 164

Zenobia, Villa of, 119, 128

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NOTES ON
ROMAN HISTORICAL SCULPTURES

BY

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NOTES ON ROMAN HISTORICAL SCULPTURES.

I.—The Basreliefs in the Villa Borghese, attributed to the Arch of Claudius.

§ 1.—That the three historical reliefs, of which two are immured in the north and south walls of the portico of the Villa Borghese, while the third rests on the ground to the left of the entrance, once belonged to a triumphal arch erected by Claudius in commemoration of his conquest of Britain, seems to be the accepted belief at the present time. The reliefs are published under this title in Brunn-Bruckmann's *Denkmäler*;[1] their *provenance* from the Arch of Claudius is affirmed without question by Helbig in his guide to the Roman collections,[2] and has been assumed in all recent discussions of the history of Roman art.[3] Nevertheless it has no foundation, save in a conjecture of Nibby, contained in his *Monumenti scelti della Villa Borghese*, a work published in 1832. The Villa had been stripped of its principal treasures during the Napoleonic period—when some scores of statues and reliefs found their way to Paris, and now form no inconsiderable portion of the sculptures of the Louvre—and their places were partly filled by less important works gathered from the gardens of the Villa and from the other properties of the Borghese. It was thus that the reliefs in question came to be employed in the decoration of the portico; up till that time they had, as it would appear, lain neglected and scarcely noticed[4] in the gardens of the Villa.[5] Nibby, however, brought them to

[1] No. 403, from which Pl. XX. Fig. 1 is taken.

[2] No. 939–941, p. 122 f. (Ed. 2).

[3] *E.g.* by Wickhoff, *Roman Art* (Eng. trans.), p. 74 ff., and Courbaud, *Le basrelief romain à représentations historiques*, p. 117 f. (who notices the view of Winckelmann, to be referred to later, only to reject it).

[4] Save by Winckelmann (*v. infra*).

[5] Winckelmann speaks of them as works 'die in der Villa Borghese *liegen*,' and Nibby (in the passage quoted above) says, '*per lungo tempo rimasero negletti nel giardino vecchio*.' They do not

high honour, reproducing the larger reliefs on Plates i. and v. of his work, and describing them under the Nos. 4 and 13 of his catalogue. On p. 14 will be found the passage relating to their supposed origin. After reciting Vacca's account of the excavations of 1562 in Piazza Sciarra, in which fragments of the Arch of Claudius were brought to light, and were sold to Giovanni Giorgio Cesarini, Nibby proceeds as follows: '*Morto Gio. Giorgio nel* 1585, *gli oggetti da lui raccolti furono in gran parte venduti e donati da Giuliano II., suo figlio, altri al Card. Ludovisi, nipote di papa Gregorio XV., altri al Card. Farnese, da cui* FORSE *dopo il* 1594 *passarono al Card. Aldobrandini e per esso in Casa Borghese.*'

It will be seen at a glance that Nibby's statement rests upon no external evidence whatsoever, except the identification of the Emperor's features as those of Claudius. His circumstantial account of the successive changes of ownership, through which the reliefs passed, is qualified by the word *forse*, which appears to have escaped the attention of recent writers, although the authors of the *Beschreibung Roms* (writing in 1842) were well aware that the identification rested on Nibby's conjecture.[1] Notwithstanding, the conjectural attribution soon won its way to general acceptance, and since the time of Philippi, who treated of the reliefs in his study of Roman Historical Sculpture, published in 1872,[2] and in the *Annali dell Istituto* for 1875,[3] it has not been called in question.

§ 2.—Assuming that the reliefs in question belong to the reign of Claudius, we are obliged to find a place for them in the history of Roman sculpture, midway between the frieze of the Ara Pacis Augustae and the reliefs of the Arch of Titus. But their style does not permit us to regard them as intermediate between the monuments above named in any process of orderly development. Philippi, whose publication brought the reliefs into the foreground of interest, speaks of their 'poor workmanship' and 'archaic severity of style,' and says that 'numerous errors in drawing and

seem to be mentioned in the descriptions of the Villa by Manilli (*Villa Borghese . . . descritta* [1650]) and Montelatici (*Villa Borghese* [1700]). Visconti (1796) described only the monuments contained in the main building.

[1] Urlichs (*Beschr. Roms* iii. 3, p. 91) in treating of the Arch of Claudius merely says that the reliefs in Villa Borghese 'sollen daher genommen worden sein'; but Platner (*ibid.* p. 231) explains clearly that the identification of the features of Claudius is the sole base of the conjecture.

[2] 'Ueber die römischen Triumphalreliefs' (*Abhandlungen der k. sächs. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, xvi. 247 ff.).

[3] Pp. 42 ff.

the confusion and misunderstanding shewn in the treatment of the drapery of the principal figure on Plate A prove that we have to do with a far lower artistic level than that occupied by the creator of the reliefs of Titus.' The *disjecta membra* of the Ara Pacis had not at that time been identified and assigned to their true origin. Wickhoff, writing after this discovery, sees in the reliefs an effort to surpass the Ara Pacis, and to obtain the pictorial effect of depth by placing two rows of profiles in low relief above the figures of the foreground, but admits that the experiment, 'one of those Italian attempts to combine the pictorial and plastic styles,' was a complete failure, owing 'principally to the clumsiness of the sculptor, who could not even have cut an eye in profile correctly, still less contribute anything to a new departure in style.' Courbaud, too, is constrained to speak of the artist as losing the ground already gained by historical basrelief, of a 'retrograde movement,' and of the 'failures and awkwardness of a beginner.' Thus no effort is or can be made to shew that the reliefs fall into their natural place between the Ara Pacis and the Arch of Titus, and we are thrown back on the supposition that they represent the rude experiments of an Italian sculptor who has broken with Hellenistic tradition.

§ 3.—It can, however, be shewn that Nibby's conjecture neither possesses inherent probability nor is supported by external evidence; while, on the other hand, a pedigree can be assigned with practical certainty to the reliefs, which excludes the possibility of their connexion with the Arch of Claudius, and points to a widely different origin.

Nibby starts from the fact that, according to the statement of Flaminio Vacca,[1] the fragments of the Arch of Claudius, discovered under the Pontificate of Pius IV, were bought by Giovanni Giorgio Cesarini, and transferred to his gardens near S. Pietro in Vincoli. These gardens were the home of one of the finest collections of ancient marbles made in the sixteenth century.[2] It had been formed by Giuliano Cesarini, who died in 1564, and by his son Giovanni Giorgio, who married Clelia Farnese, natural daughter of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, and died in 1585. At the time of Montaigne's visit to Rome, in 1580, it was still one of the

[1] *Mem.* 28 (*v. infra*).

[2] See Lanciani, *Storia degli Scavi*, i. 133 ff.; also Geffroy in *Mélanges de l'École française*, x. 165[1], and Adinolfi, *Roma nel medio evo*, ii. 104 ff.

principal sights of the city. Unfortunately, we have no description of the collection,[1] and the engravers of the time seem to have paid it but little attention. A copy of the will of Giovanni Giorgio Cesarini is preserved in the Archivio di Stato at Rome,[2] from which we learn that the testator destined his collection to pass from heir to heir by primogeniture, alienation and division being strictly prohibited,[3] and proposed to make a complete inventory of its items.[4] The passage has almost a pathetic interest, for the testator's son, Giuliano II, created Duca by Sixtus V, was an incorrigible spendthrift and *mauvais sujet*, and, after dispersing almost the whole of the collection, became an outlaw. A miserable remnant of its treasures was

[1] Aldrovandi (p. 221) briefly mentions some statues, etc., in the palace, not the gardens, of the Cesarini.

[2] *Archivio del Collegio dei Notari*, No. 1573 (no longer 1562, as given by Schreiber, *Die antiken Bildwerke der Villa Ludovisi*, p. 6[6]).

[3] I transcribe the passage from the copy referred to, giving it more fully than Ratti, *Storia della famiglia Sforza*, ii. 291 f. Ratti says that the will is dated July 23, 1574, and is contained in the acts of the notary Paccichelli. I cannot find that any members of that family practised as early as the sixteenth century; the papers of the office, which afterwards passed through their hands, are now in the Archivio Distrettuale, and I have not been able to search them. The instrument of which a copy is preserved in the Archivio di Stato is dated Dec. 18, 1581 (with a codicil of Apr. 7, 1585), and was drawn up by the notary Curzio Saccocci. The passage in question runs as follows (f. 322 v.):—'*et perche nella eredità di mio padre ho ritrovato il Giardino di San Pietro in Vincola con il palazzo vecchio senza mobili utensili et paramenti et havendolo io aobbato et ornato di molti paramenti teste di marmo statue colonne tavole commesse di varie sorte, diverse altre sorte di marmo bronzi antichi camei intaglii di goie pitture quadri et molte altre cose a ornamento del palazzo che tutto serranno inventariate in un libro, et havendo io similmente detto giardino ampliato di altri siti et nove fabriche et dessiderando io che detto luogo sia tenuto et conservato con quelle sopra dette delitie che io lo tengo, il che non si può fare che non con spese notabili et volendo provedere come miglio posso, che detto luogo con suoi edificii vechii et novi fatti et da farsi et tutte le altre cose sopradette restino sempre indivisi, et* (fol. 323 r.) *non si possano mai per alcun tempo sino a infinito ne in tutto ne in parte etiam minima alienare, et cognoscendo, che il primo genito per haver maggiore entrata serrà più atto a conservarlo nel debito modo, ordino voglio comando et lasso che il detto primo genito solo et insolidum succeda in detto giardino edificii antichi et novi terreni et altre cose contigue che ho comprati sin qui et comprarò sino al tempo della morte mia, marmi statue diverse cose di marmo bronzi camei intaglii diversi pitture paramente et altre robbe che sono et serranno in detto luogo et descritte in detto inventario quale finito che serrà spero dar sotto scritto di man mia al notaro che si rogarà del presente testamento o altri notari o persone a chi più mi piacerà, et quando detto libro o vero inventario come di sopra non si trovasse da me consignato a detto notaro o altri voglio che Subito di poi la morte mia se ne faccia inventario distintamente di cosa per cosa di tutte le sopradette robbe, et detto giardino palazzo et altre robbe di sopra narrati voglio che perpetuamente siano conservati indivisi et vadano da primogenito in primogenito di tutti i detti miei descendenti*, etc. (provisions against alienation follow).

[4] This inventory, which would, if preserved, have been of the highest value for museographic research, was either never made or, if made, seems irretrievably lost, though it might possibly be discovered in the Archives of Casa Sforza-Cesarini. (The houses of Sforza and Cesarini became merged by the marriage of Donna Livia Cesarini (1646–1711), great-granddaughter of Giuliano II and heiress of the house, to Duca Federico Sforza.)

sold to Cardinal Ludovisi in 1622.[1] It is probable that the principal part of the collection passed to the Farnese, with whom Giuliano was connected through his mother. The fact is attested by Vacca,[2] writing in 1594, for the eighteen busts discovered in a vineyard behind the Baths of Diocletian and bought by Giovanni Giorgio Cesarini for 700 scudi, '*ed ora il Sig. Giuliano le ha vendute al Cardinal Farnese e sono nella sua Galleria*,'[3] and is likewise proved for two statues, both of which have now found their way to Naples as part of the Farnese collection, but were figured by sixteenth-century engravers as existing in the Cesarini gardens.[4]

If, however, the reliefs mentioned by Vacca had thus become the property of the Farnese, we should expect to find them, if anywhere, in the Museum at Naples. Nibby, however, conjectures that they may have passed from the Farnese (after the death of Cardinal Alessandro in 1594) to the Aldobrandini, to which family the reigning pope Clement VIII (1592–1605) belonged, and thus (through the well-known marriage connexions of the Aldobrandini) into the possession of the Borghese, who provided an almost immediate successor to Clement VIII in the person of Paul V (1605–1623). It was under his pontificate that the Villa was built by his brother, Cardinal Scipione Borghese. But the supposition of Nibby is entirely gratuitous. I am unable to find any evidence that either the Aldobrandini or the Borghese collections were enriched at the expense of that of the Farnese, and we must regard the suggestion as highly improbable in itself.

§ 4.—The probability of Nibby's attribution is in no way increased by what we know of the Arch of Claudius and the result of excavations which have from time to time taken place in Piazza Sciarra. Of these it will be convenient here to give a brief summary.

[1] The inventory is printed by Schreiber, *Die antiken Bildwerke der Villa Ludovisi*, p. 25 f.

[2] *Mem.* 104.

[3] The find is mentioned by Ligorio (*Taur.* xxiii. fol. 63), who names thirteen of the busts. Three have with greater or less probability been identified with works now in Naples (Hülsen, *Die Hermenbildnisse berühmter Griechen* [*Röm. Mitth.* 1901, p. 123 ff.], Nos. 21 (Carneades), 24 (Lysias), 38 (Posidonius). I should be inclined to add No. 9 (Euripides), described by Gallaeus as belonging to the Farnese, and now at Naples.

[4] (i) De Cavalleriis, *Antiquarum Statuarum Urbis Romae*, i/ii. Pl. 93 (Oceani effigies Romae in edibus nobilis Romani in regione platee de Sciarra) = Vaccaria, *Antiquarum Statuarum Urbis Romae icones*, Pl. 30 (in viridario Cesarinorum) = Reinach, i. 434, 5; (ii) Vaccaria, *op. cit.* Pl. 30 (Bacchi statua in viridario Cesarinorum) [the engraving and legend were appropriated by the De Rossi firm in the seventeenth century] = Reinach i. 397, 6.

I. The first excavation known to have taken place on the site is that recorded by Vacca,[1] whose account runs as follows :—

'(*La piazza di Sciarra*) . . . *Vi furono trovati al tempo di Pio IV dei frammenti dell' arco di Claudio e molti pezzi d'istorie col ritratto di Claudio, che furono comprati dal Sig. Gio. Giorgio Cesarino; ed oggi si trovano nel suo giardino a S. Pietro in Vincoli. Io comprai il resto di detti frammenti e furono cento trentasei carretate. Tutta l'opera era di marmi gentili; solo l'imbasamento di saligno.*

'*Pochi anni sono vi era sopra terra in opera un pezzo d'istoria, quale era una facciata del' arco, e fù levata da' Romani e murata nel piano delle scale che saliscono su la sala del Campidoglio.*'

It is necessary to observe that the relief mentioned by Vacca in the second paragraph was, as the words *in opera* indicate, used in construction, forming, in fact, part of the wall of a house; and there is therefore no sort of reason for connecting it with the Arch of Claudius, as is done by Lanciani.[2] As he himself has shewn,[3] it is identical with the relief *in platea Sciarrae in pariete domus Ill*^{mi} *D*^{ni} *Antonini Ciocii primi coss. affixa*, acquired by the Conservatori in 1573 on consideration of the payment of 100 scudi and the execution of the necessary repairs to the wall in order to complete the decoration of the *lovium scalarum Palatii*, together with the three reliefs from S. Martina on which M. Aurelius is represented. The head of the Emperor has been restored as that of M. Aurelius;[4] but although Petersen[5] thought it possible that it might belong to the series of reliefs from an arch of that Emperor, I am not able to share his view, believing with Helbig that the style points rather to the period of Hadrian. At all events, its workmanship forbids us to attribute it, with Lanciani, to the time of Claudius.

The same excavation brought to light various fragments of inscriptions, whereof one alone survives to the present day. The find included three fragments of the main inscription of the Arch of Claudius (*C.I.L.* vi. 920), known to us only from the copies made by Nicolao Fiorentino and sent by him to Torrentius and Pighius, and three fragmentary inscriptions in honour of various members of Claudius's family (*C.I.L.* vi. 921 *a–c*), of which several other copies besides those of Nicolao Fiorentino are extant.

[1] *Mem.* 28.
[2] *Bull. Comm.* 1878, p. 16 f.
[3] *Storia degli Scavi*, ii. 83.
[4] See Helbig, *Führer*^{2}, No. 562, p. 378.
[5] *Röm. Mitth.* 1890, 75.

Manutius gives the precise year of the excavation, in the words *nella piazza di Sciarra fù ritrovato un arco di Claudio imp. l'anno* 1562 *con queste iscrittioni. . . .*

We learn from the MS. of Cittadini that these fragments—like the reliefs—were bought by the Cesarini, but kept for some time in their palace near the Church of the Gesù. However, Ciacconius tells us (in the Pesaro MS.) that they were to be seen in the gardens at S. Pietro in Vincoli. On the dispersal of the collection one disappears entirely, another is heard of at Naples, while the third, after passing through the hands of Stefano Longhi (in Doni's time), found its way to the Villa Giustiniani, where it was seen by Bianchini and Montfaucon, and has been in the Capitoline Museum at least since 1750, the date of Guasco's publication of the Capitoline inscriptions.[1] It was no doubt the discovery of this epigraphic material as well as the identification, whether real or supposed, of the portrait of Claudius which led the scholars of 1562 to assign the sculptures to an arch of that Emperor; they doubtless remembered also that an arch '*iuxta plateam Sciarrae*' had been destroyed in times then recent.[2]

It is probable that the three fragments of sculpture drawn by Pierre Jacques[3] and seen by him in the Piazza Sciarra belonged to the reliefs discovered in 1562. Pierre Jacques, it is true, seems to have been resident in Rome 1572–1577; but the fragments in question may not have been acquired by the Cesarini. The first (Reinach, Pl. 29; with the legend *in piace dy Sciarra*, 1576) represents a frieze on which is sculptured a combat between Romans and barbarians; below is an architrave and a griffin's head. On the second (Reinach, Pl. 30; *Sciara*, 1577) is seen the head of a *signifer*, decorated as usual with a lion's muzzle, and bearded. A third (Reinach, Pl. 63; *Sciara*) represents the laureated head of a *tubicen*. The two heads are drawn on a much larger scale than the frieze; and it is not improbable that they belonged to figures which once occupied large panels.

[1] Lanciani is therefore wrong in saying (*Bull. Comm. l.c.*) that *all* the inscriptions are now in the Capitoline Museum; and he falls into a still graver error when he quotes Smetius and Manutius as stating that the relief purchased by the Conservatori was *found* in Piazza Sciarra (*Storia degli Scavi*, ii. 83). They refer to the inscriptions only. He proceeds to quote Vacca's words (*v. supra*), *omitting the essential phrase* 'in opera.'

[2] See the statement of Andrea Fulvio (*Antiquitates Urbis Romae* [1527], iv. p. 60) quoted in an additional note at the end of this paper.

[3] Reinach, *L'Album de Pierre Jacques*, Pls. 29, 30, 63.

II. Girolamo Ferrucci in his Italian translation of the *Antiquitates* of Andrea Fulvio (published in 1588) speaks of having seen *pietroni di marmo*, a pilaster of *peperino*, and some granite columns belonging to the same arch and discovered in Piazza Sciarra.

III. In 1641 the largest fragment of the inscription of the arch—now to be seen immured in the garden wall of the Palazzo Barberini—came to light. The excavation is recorded by Martinelli,[1] by Giacinto Gigli in his *Memorie*,[2] and by Cassiano dal Pozzo in his MS. diary now at Naples.[3] Dal Pozzo states that when the Via del Caravita (which leads from Piazza Sciarra towards S. Ignazio and the Pantheon) was opened up there were found *pezzi di bassorilievo diversi, attinenti forse a qualche arco . . . cavati fuora, non però tutto*, and that not many months after the inscription was found. Further excavations were then prosecuted by the Conservatori at the instance of Urban VIII, but suspended because the Pope reserved for himself the lion's share of the finds, as Gigli tells us ; and in the course of these, as Cassiano dal Pozzo says, there came to light *altri pezzi di bassorilievo compagni di quelli che si trovavano per prima.* All trace of these seems to have been lost.

IV. Cipriani, in his *Relazione delle Chiaviche* (XXVIII.)[4] describes the finding of part of a column on the same site. This was taken to the Palazzo Barberini.

V. In 1869, during the laying of the foundations of the premises occupied by the Cassa di Risparmio, further fragments of the sculptures came to light. An account of these was given by Lanciani in the *Bulletino dell' Istituto* for 1869, p. 225 f., and also by Pellegrini in the same periodical for 1870, p. 122 f. From these accounts it appears that the finds included fragments of sculpture on two different scales. On the larger scale were a booted leg and a youthful head, on the smaller a rider.

Strange as it may seem, it is quite unknown at the present time what became of these fragments. The architect and contractor have both been dead for many years, and the Marchese Cavalletti-Rondinini (managing director of the bank) informs me that the fragments are not in the

[1] *Roma ricercata nel suo sito* [Ed. 1662], 108.

[2] Ap. Nibby, *Roma antica nel* 1838, i. 441.

[3] Ap. Lumbroso, *Cassiano dal Pozzo*, p. 52.

[4] Ap. Fea, *Miscellanea*, ii. 252=Schreiber, *Sächs. Berichte*, 1885, 146. It is addressed to Alexander VII. (1655–1667).

possession of the Cassa di Risparmio, nor is there any record of their disposal.

It would appear, then, that of the fragments found in the Piazza di Sciarra at various periods there are none whose present whereabouts can be traced ; nor does it seem that any reproductions of them are in existence with the exception of the drawings of Pierre Jacques.[1] It is worthy of note that in the case of these drawings, as in that of the finds of 1869, it seemed possible that sculptures on two scales were represented. I should be disposed to suggest that on the coin of Claudius,[2] which shews an arch erected in commemoration of the Britannic triumph, the frieze to which Pierre Jacques' first drawing and the rider found in 1869 belonged is indicated, while the larger fragments may have belonged to the groups decorating the passage-way.

§ 5.—On the other hand, the pedigree of the Borghese reliefs can, as I believe, be determined with practical certainty.

Writers of the early sixteenth century describe the church of S. Martina, which occupied the site of the Secretarium Senatus, as containing a number of inscriptions and basreliefs immured in its walls. Albertini,[3] writing in 1509, says :—'*in qua ecclesia tabulis marmoreis antiquae caelaturae parietes undique exornati sunt*' ; and Andrea Fulvio in his Latin poem, *Antiquaria Urbis*,[4] written in 1513, speaks of the '*marmoreae species et signa triumphi*.' The church was not, however, destined to retain the possession of these treasures. We shall deal later with the case of the reliefs representing the triumph of M. Aurelius, acquired by the Conservatori in 1524. What here concerns us is that Vacca[5] gives us the following information :—'*Nella chiesa di S. Martina . . . vi erano due grandi istorie di marmo statuale, assai consumate, rappresentanti armati con trofei in mano e alcuni togati di buona mano. Sisto V*[6] *nel far la sua cappella nella chiesa di S. Maria Maggiore demolì la chiesa di S. Luca de' pittori, ed in ricompensa donò a' medesimi la detta chiesa di S. Martina, ed essi per farvi i miglioramenti venderono dette*

[1] Hülsen suggested (*Röm. Mitth.* 1891, 79) that some of the drawings of Panvinius in *Coa. Vat.* 3439 might reproduce the fragments discovered in 1562 ; but I have not found any indication of such *provenance* in the MS. and do not believe that any of the drawings can be traced with any degree of probability to this source.

[2] Cohen, 49=Pl. XXIX. 4. The legend TR·P·IMP· proves nothing as to date ; unfortunately the faint indications of reliefs are lost in the reproduction.

[3] Fol. 27. [4] Fol. O. iii. b. [5] Mem. 68.

[6] In 1588, see Nibby, *Roma moderna nel* 1838, i. 539. The church has since then borne the title S. Martina e S. Luca.

istorie, che al presente[1] *sono in casa del sig. Cavaliere della Porta scultore.*' The sale must have taken taken place very shortly before Vacca wrote, for, as Lanciani[2] shews, the Conservatori meditated the acquisition of the reliefs in question in 1592.

The sculptor to whom Vacca refers is Giambattista della Porta, who formed a considerable collection of ancient marbles, which on his death in 1597 he bequeathed to his co-heirs Gianpaolo and Tommaso della Porta. The former of these survived, and, having no interest in antiquities, sold the collection, which realised only 6,000 scudi.[3] In 1893, Graeven published,[4] from a MS. formerly in the Barberini library and now in the Vatican, an inventory of this collection, and shewed (with the aid of Michaelis) that all the works described with sufficient detail to admit of identification can be traced to the Borghese collections, and are now either in the Villa Borghese or have been transferred thence to the Louvre, except some which remained in the Palazzo Borghese until the sale which took place in 1893. The vagueness of the descriptions does not permit of certainty save in a limited number of cases, but there are several statues now in the Villa or in the Louvre which might well be identical with those in the inventory, over and above those which Graeven and Michaelis have been able to identify, and there seems to be very good reason to believe that the della Porta collection was purchased *en bloc* by Cardinal Borghese for the adornment of his newly erected Villa. Now at the head of this inventory stands the following item : *Prima una istoria del trionfo di Germanico con molte figure alta p.* 10 *et longa p.* 20.' It did not escape the notice of Graeven that we have here a reference to the reliefs from S. Martina sold by the Accademia di S. Luca to Giambattista della Porta, who no doubt recomposed the two large reliefs and the smaller fragment (not noticed by Vacca) with the restorations necessary to form a connected frieze, treating them in the same way as the fragments of the frieze of the Ara Pacis were handled before being fixed in the walls of the Villa Medici—*i.e.* completing the composition with extensive additions in plaster.

[1] 1594.

[2] *Storia degli Scavi*, ii. 92 ., quoting the minutes of the Consiglio pubblico held Sept. 22, 1592 : '*Exposito per primum Conservatorem* [*Andream Vellium*] *in ecclesia Sanctae Martinae in foro Boario adesse duas tabulas marmoreas sculptas et triumphum Marci Aurelii forsan concomitantes, quas expedit populo habere decretum est quod Conservatores curent illas habere cum populi maiori utilitate.*'

[3] See Baglioni, *Vite de' pittori*, etc., pp. 74, 152 (1st ed.).

[4] *Röm. Mitth.* 1893, p. 236 ff.

But Graeven has not noticed—no doubt because the statement of Nibby was regarded as authoritative—that this *trionfo di Germanico* is clearly to be identified with the Borghese reliefs hitherto assigned to the Arch of Claudius. The height (10 palms = 2·23 m.) tallies with that of the reliefs in question,[1] and although the length is greater than that obtained by adding together the breadths of the three fragments, the difference is easily accounted for when allowance is made for the plaster restorations whose existence we are obliged to assume. When the reconstituted frieze was removed from the della Porta collection to that of the Borghese, these restorations were no doubt broken up and the original marbles alone preserved.

§ 6.—It remains to be considered to what date the stylistic affinities of the Borghese reliefs point. It was shewn above that those critics who, believing that external evidence compelled their assignment to the reign of Claudius, endeavoured to determine their place in the development of Roman historical sculpture, found in them a stumbling-block rather than a stepping-stone in tracing the course of evolution from the Ara Pacis Augustae to the sculptures of the Flavian period. We should not therefore in any case be disposed to attribute the reliefs to the period of the Julio-Claudian dynasty. But in point of fact they fall into their natural place when compared with a group of monuments whose *provenance* and period are beyond question. I refer to the *disjecta membra* of the great frieze representing the Dacian victories of Trajan, which in all probability once decorated the Forum of that Emperor. A considerable portion of this frieze, as is well known, was used by Constantine in the decoration of his arch. This was broken up into four parts (once continuous), of which two were used in the passage-way, while the other two form the side-panels of the attic of the Arch. Nor are these the only remains of this series of reliefs. The Louvre possesses a relief, here reproduced,[2] on which are seen the head and part of the figure of a Roman legionary, the head and arm of a Dacian, and in the background one of the characteristic wattled huts of which another example may be seen on the western side of the attic of the Arch of Constantine. This beyond doubt belongs to the same monument as the reliefs of the Arch; and the

[1] The height of fr. A is *circ.* 2·10 m., of fr. B *circ.* 2·30 m.

[2] Catalogue sommaire, No. 412: photogr. Giraudon, 1078 (whence Fig. 1).

same may be said of the relief walled into the garden front of the Villa Medici,[1] which represents a Dacian swimming the Danube, while in the background appears the bridge constructed by Trajan's orders and familiar from the reliefs of the Column.

That the Borghese reliefs at one time formed part of the same frieze is, indeed, incapable of proof and perhaps improbable. The dimensions of

FIG. 1.

the figures and the height of the relief probably differed but little if at all. In the reliefs of the Villa Borghese, as in those with which I have compared them, the figures are considerably over life-size, the length of the face from hair to chin being almost exactly 20 cm. throughout. It is to be noted, however, that the use of the drill in the representation of accessories such as the ornamentation of the helmet, which may plainly be seen in the

[1] Matz-Duhn, 3518.

Louvre fragment and is also found in the reliefs from the Arch of Constantine, is absent in the case of the Borghese reliefs. For this reason —although there are differences in execution even between the various portions of the great frieze—I am inclined to think that the Borghese panels belonged to a different composition. There can, however, be no doubt whatever that their style and spirit are the same, and it is in my opinion highly probable that they once adorned the Forum of Trajan. It has been generally believed that this is the *provenance* of the reliefs from the Arch of Constantine, and in the case of our panels this is still more probable, since the church of S. Martina, to which we were able to trace them, stood in the immediate neighbourhood of the Imperial Fora.

The group of monuments to which reference has been made, together with the Column of Trajan and the Arch of Beneventum,[1] is marked by very definite characteristics. At no other time was there a school of sculpture so distinctively Roman in spirit. It is no doubt true that the architect of the Forum of Trajan, Apollodorus of Damascus, was a Syrian Greek. But it is by no means clear that the conception and execution of the friezes and reliefs which completed the decoration of the Forum are due to the architect who designed the building. The traditions of historical sculpture were unquestionably formed in the workshops of the capital, and it was in these that the gradual transformation took place by reason of which Hellenistic conventions were in course of time discarded and new canons took their place. I am unable to follow Petersen[2] in thinking that the reliefs of Trajan's Column are Greek in character. It may be true that the symmetry and balance often seen in the composition are a debt which Roman craftsmen owed to their Hellenic forerunners—although the detailed comparison of the Fall of Sarmizegetusa with the Ἰλίου πέρσις of Polygnotus does not, to my thinking, lead to a convincing proof of dependence in the case of the later composition—but in their details the reliefs are the work of a school which endeavours to realise new aims even at the expense of unlearning many of the lessons of Greek art. There is no more characteristic detail in which the identity of workmanship between the Borghese reliefs and those of the Great Frieze is exhibited than the treatment of the eye in profile, which (as all critics have noted) is rendered

[1] We may add the fragments from Turin published in the *Memorie dei Lincei*, serie v. vol. VIII. p. 34 ff.

[2] *Die Marcussäule*, p. 95 f.

according to the archaic convention *en face*, as though the true way had not been shewn by the Greek sculptors.[1]

The most noteworthy feature of the Trajanic style is its attempt to substitute height for depth in perspective. This is the true significance of the practice in accordance with which the artist, finally abandoning the *isocephalism* of Greek art (which indeed had ceased to be a reasonable convention since the introduction of pictorial methods into relief-sculpture), endeavours to give the effect of a serried mass of troops by disposing two, three, or even more rows of heads in a vertical series. The experiment no doubt deserves the strictures passed upon it by Wickhoff;[2] but he has not noticed that it is characteristic not merely of the Borghese reliefs, but also of the Great Frieze from the Arch of Constantine and the Column of Trajan.[3] This convention, in fact, springs from the bird's-eye conception of perspective which led Roman sculptors from the spatial composition justly appreciated by Wickhoff in the case of the Arch of Titus, to the map-like projections of the Arch of Septimius Severus.[4]

There can thus be no doubt as to the period to which our reliefs belong; the juxtaposition of the various monuments with which we have compared them is in itself conclusive, and it is unnecessary to base the argument on details, which afford confirmation rather than proof.[5] But it may be well, in conclusion, to recall the fact that Winckelmann assigned

[1] There are several examples on the panels of the Arch of Beneventum.

[2] *Roman Art* (Eng. trans.), p. 76 f.

[3] See esp. Cichorius, Pl. XI. and LXXVII. It is to be noted that the Arch of Beneventum in this respect follows more closely the classical tradition, being in fact clearly inspired by the Arch of Titus, which it resembles in design. We see a trace of the Trajanic convention, however, in the relief of the passage-way, representing the foundation of the alimentary institutions.

[4] Bird's-eye perspective may of course be freely illustrated from the reliefs of Trajan's Column, especially in the case of palisading.

[5] Thus, the form of the helmet corresponds with that worn by the Romans on the Great Frieze. The ornamentation is variable, as in the case of the frieze, but the *fulmen* on the cheekpiece is characteristic. The crest is worn exactly as in the reliefs of the Archway (where in some cases the wheel and *aigrettes* take its place), and, as is to be noted, in some scenes of the Column, including those already quoted in illustration of the superposition of rows of heads (*supra*, n. 3), where it has been supposed with some probability that praetorians rather than legionaries are represented. Again, the form of the cuirass *with the narrow scarf* forms a point of resemblance. So far as is at present known, the only first-century cuirass with the scarf is that worn by the Nero at Constantinople (Reinach, *Répertoire*, ii. 577, 9). It is true that Greek bronze statuettes, representing *e.g.* Alexander, sometimes show the scarf, and this may perhaps have been transferred to the Roman Imperial type in Asia Minor during the first century (the Nero was found at Thyatira); but we have a considerable series of *statuae loricatae* from Rome and Italy, and they seem to furnish no example earlier than Trajan (von Rohden in *Bonner Studien*, p. 5 f.).

them without hesitation to their true origin.[1] The passage is worth quoting: 'Of public works of art executed under Trajan there remain, besides the fine fragments of his arch, from which Constantine caused his own to be constructed, fragments of large works in high relief which lie in the Villa Borghese. These appear to come either from a second triumphal arch of the Emperor or from another public building belonging to his Forum, such as the Basilica Ulpia, which is represented on a rare gold coin already mentioned. These fine works represent soldiers with their standards in figures 11 palms high, amongst which we can distinguish but not recognize the commander, whose head has been broken off. The bust of Trajan is, however, plainly to be seen on one of the round medallions on the standards, while on another of these fragments we see on the standard which bears two medallions, on the lower one the figure of Nerva, and on the upper (apparently) that of Trajan a second time.' We cannot, indeed, follow Winckelmann in recognizing *with certainty* the medallion portraits as those of Nerva and Trajan[2]—though we are still less able to see in them (with Nibby) Claudius and Narcissus!—but the beardless heads, in which no exact portraiture was doubtless attempted, accord with the fashion of Trajan's time, to which the founder of archaeological science rightly attributed the monument.

II.—THE RELIEF-MEDALLIONS OF THE ARCH OF CONSTANTINE.

§ 1.—It has been recognized since the seventeenth century[3] that the sculptures which adorn the Arch of Constantine were in part taken from monuments of an earlier date. The observation is due, in the first instance, to Gian Pietro Bellori, who contributed the explanatory text to the series of engravings from ancient reliefs published at Paris in 1645 by François Perrier under the title *Icones et segmenta veterum tabularum quae Romae extant.*[4] Bellori was at the time a young man, and the legends

[1] *Werke* (Donaueschingen edition), vi. 259 f. = *Geschichte der Kunst*, xi. 3, § 31.

[2] Winckelmann strangely speaks of the two standards with medallion portraits as being on different fragments, whereas they are in reality on the same relief. He no doubt wrote from memory.

[3] From the sixteenth century we have Giovanni Battista Mercati's engravings of four of the scenes—Nos. I.–IV.—which are of no archaeological value. The figures are freely restored, in several cases with beards.

[4] Plates 35–42.

in question formed his first contribution to archaeology, inaugurating a series of works covering half a century (he died in 1696), which entitle him to rank highly in the small band of writers on Roman historical sculpture. Bellori did not fail to recognize Trajan in the Great Frieze whose *disjecta membra* decorate the central archway, and concluded that all those sculptures of the Arch which were obviously earlier than the time of Constantine belonged to Trajan's reign, including the medallions and the panels of the attic. Perrier's engravings were executed without a mirror, and thus reversed the direction of the originals (according to the common practice of engravers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries), and the missing portions were freely restored. Plates and text were freely reproduced according to the custom of the time. Thus, in 1680, Matteo Piccioni published [1] a set of poor engravings, including the medallions and attic panels of the Arch of Constantine, together with the four reliefs in the Palazzo dei Conservatori on which Marcus Aurelius is represented. They were accompanied by Bellori's text, and mark no advance on Perrier's work, except that the figure of Silvanus in No. II. is more correctly restored. Bellori's final publication of the reliefs is to be found in his *Veteres arcus Augustorum*, published in 1690.[2] The engravings for this work were from the hand of Pietro Sante Bartoli, who no doubt had Perrier's plates before him, but reproduced the originals correctly as regards direction, and in some few cases restored the missing portions of the reliefs with greater accuracy than his predecessor.[3] Bellori's text also shews some alteration, and the figure of Silvanus is for the first time correctly identified, having been previously interpreted as Hercules.

§ 2.—Bellori's theory, that the reliefs in question were all to be assigned to the period of Trajan, remained practically unchallenged until the latter part of the nineteenth century, when Prof. Petersen demonstrated that the panels of the attic belonged to the time of Marcus Aurelius and originally represented that Emperor.[4] Petersen devoted an article in the *Römische Mittheilungen* for 1889[5] to the medallions, which were reproduced in the

[1] With the enterprising firm of de Rossi (the name often appears in the Latin form *de Rubeis*), who were for more than a century the chief art-publishers of Rome and appropriated the work o most of the well-known engravers of the later sixteenth century.

[2] Plates 32–39.

[3] *E.g.* the *nimbus* omitted by Perrier is correctly given in three out of the four instances in which it occurs (not, however, in No. IV.), and the attendant in the act of crowning the statue of Silvanus is rightly restored.

[4] See below, p. 251, with note. [5] P. 314 ff.

Antike Denkmäler,[1] with notes on technical details also from the pen of Petersen. Like all his predecessors, he held that Trajan was the Emperor in whose honour the reliefs were originally executed, but admitted that it was difficult to recognize him in the extant figures. He considered that the Emperor of Nos. VI. and VIII. was certainly *not* Trajan, and could see little likeness to Trajan in the Imperial figure of No. VII. Indeed, he recognized Trajan in one instance only, viz., No. V. He further admitted that none of the companions of the Emperor could be identified with personages represented on the reliefs of Trajan's Column. Thus from the iconographic standpoint Petersen's results were negative and unsatisfying; the value of his study lay in the fact that he shewed clearly how the original grouping of the reliefs in pairs had been obscured by the rearrangement to which Constantine's workmen had subjected them, and suggested a possible restoration of the original arrangement[2] on the assumption that the original function of the reliefs had been to decorate an arch.

§ 3.—The iconography and date of the reliefs have recently been discussed by Arndt in the text which accompanies their publication, based on Anderson's photographs (from which our plates are taken), in Bruckmann's *Denkmäler*.[3] Arndt proposes to assign the reliefs to the last ten years of the reign of Hadrian. He recognizes Antinous with probability in the figure under the archway in No. I.,[4] and with certainty in the rider of the boar-hunt (No. V.). Now Antinous was born about 110 A.D., and became known to Hadrian about 128 or 129 A.D., so that we thus obtain a *terminus post quem* for the reliefs. Arndt also sees a strong resemblance to Hadrian in the bearded figure who occupies a central position in the lion-hunt (No. VII.) and in the figure to the left in the sacrifice to Apollo (No. VI.), and suggests that the reliefs may have been set up by Hadrian in honour of Trajan, perhaps in the temple of the latter Emperor. In this case, however, the presence of Antinous would constitute a glaring anachronism; and Arndt is therefore disposed to think that the Emperor represented was originally Hadrian. He states that the head of the Emperor is in no instance preserved, having been either replaced or worked over, as in the case of the scenes of sacrifice on the

[1] I. Pl. 42 f.
[2] Shewn in *Röm. Mitth.* 1889, Pls. vii, viii.
[3] Nos. 555, 559, 560, 565.
[4] This figure was in point of fact bearded.

north face of the arch (Nos. VI. and VIII.). This conclusion he believes to be confirmed negatively by the fact that the subsidiary figures cannot be identified with any of the *comites* of Trajan represented on the Column or on the Arch of Beneventum, as well as positively by the style and execution of the reliefs. The presence of bearded figures and the plastic rendering of the pupil he rightly admits to be inconclusive, but lays great stress on the 'restless' treatment of the hair, and the free use of the drill especially in the rendering of foliage. He recognizes, however, that the countenances of the Emperor's companions are not always such as we should expect in the time of Hadrian, and goes so far as to say that the face of the personage to the right in the scene of the lion-hunt (No. VII.) is 'that of a Flavian in Hadrianic execution.'

Arndt's study is, of course, based on the photographs taken by Anderson and the notes made by Petersen at the time when they were executed; but as the scaffolding erected on that occasion was necessarily placed at some little distance from the reliefs for the purpose of focussing the camera, a minute study of the details was impossible; and, as Arndt justly observed, a further examination was urgently needed. Such an examination I resolved to undertake in order at least to settle the question as to the restorations which the medallions had undergone in later antiquity, and in the hope that a final decision as to their date might be rendered possible; and by the kind permission of Comm. de Angelis, Director of the Ufficio Tecnico per la Conservazione dei Monumenti, I was able, with the aid of a mechanical ladder, to make a closer study of the originals than has hitherto been possible. I was accompanied by Prof. Petersen, Mr. T. Ashby, jun., and Mr. A. J. B. Wace, whose valuable assistance I desire to acknowledge.

§ 4.—The result of an examination was decisive against the theory of Arndt that the Emperor originally represented was Hadrian. It is not the case that the original head is in no instance preserved (as stated by Arndt); for while it is true that on the north face of the Arch the Imperial heads have either been replaced or worked over, in the case of the medallions on the south face it seems probable that no restoration took place in antiquity. In Nos. I. and II., indeed, not only the head but the upper portion of the body of the Emperor is irretrievably lost; but in No. III. (the bear-hunt) the original head is preserved, although its features are damaged beyond

recognition, while in No. IV. (the sacrifice to Artemis), although the features have suffered too severely to permit of any *certainty* in the identification of the Emperor, the lower part of the face at least is fairly well preserved; and it is beyond doubt beardless. Hadrian therefore cannot have been represented here. I was, moreover, entirely unable to see any marked degree of resemblance to Antinous in either of the youthful figures whom Arndt proposes to identify with Hadrian's favourite; they are in fact types, not portraits. Similarly, the bearded figure in whom Arndt sees a pronounced likeness to Hadrian (if not a portrait of that Emperor) is that of an attendant and not of an Imperial personage at all, and is by no means like Hadrian.

§ 5.—On the other hand, our examination of the reliefs on the N. face of the Arch led to positive results which raise a curious and difficult problem. It has been said above that in all probability the reliefs of the S. face underwent no restoration or alteration in ancient times, but were simply transferred by Constantine's order from one monument to another. This is not the case with the reliefs on the northern front. In the first place the head of the Emperor is in each case encircled with a *nimbus* carved in the background of the relief at the time when the sculptures received their new destination, and it is clearly necessary to seek the reason why these medallions only were thus distinguished. In the second place, the original features of the Emperor are in no case preserved. But we are in presence of the remarkable fact that not one, but two portrait-types are found, and that these occur alternately. In the two hunting-scenes, Nos. V. and VII., we have a portrait of Constantine himself, who is most clearly recognizable in the case of the boar-hunt (No. V.), where the features have sustained comparatively little damage. The treatment of the hair and eyes is characteristic of the Emperor and period, and the identification may be considered certain.[1] Nor can it be doubted that the head of the Emperor in the lion scene (No. VII.) is that of the same individual. It is, however, noteworthy that both heads at first sight wear the appearance of having been broken off and replaced. It would, of course, have been natural for the restorer commissioned to introduce the portrait of Constantine in these reliefs to saw off the original head in order to fit the new on to a smooth

[1] On the portraits of Constantine see Petersen, *Atti dell' Accademia Pontificia, Serie* II., vol. vii. pp. 159 ff.

surface. Instead of this, the original heads have been roughly broken off and the new ones fitted with great care to the breakage, insomuch that we are almost obliged to assume that the artist worked from a plaster cast of the surface. It may seem indeed scarcely credible that a method of procedure at once so clumsy and so laborious should have been chosen ; but the facts leave no room for doubt on the point, especially as the newly-made portraits of Constantine do not fit closely to the breakage at the back of the neck, although they do so in front. We find that in each case behind the head now existing (which stands free) remains of the original head at its junction with the background are traceable. In the case of the boar-hunt these can easily be seen from below, since the head of Constantine is bent forward at a considerably more acute angle than was that of the Emperor originally represented ; but they can also be detected by a close examination in the scene of the lion-hunt, where the original head was not so much turned to the left as is that of Constantine. It is difficult to suggest any reason for the method followed by the restorer, unless it be that the heads had been broken off, whether by accident or design, at some time previous to their transference to the Arch of Constantine.

§ 6.—The substitution of the portrait of Constantine for that of an earlier Emperor on this arch is, of course, no matter for surprise. The same, however, is not the case with the unquestionable fact that in the two scenes of sacrifice to Apollo and Hercules the Emperor represented is neither Constantine nor any ruler of the first or second centuries A.D., but has hair and beard treated in a style which is certainly not earlier than the time of Severus Alexander and might well be considerably later. Furthermore, the method pursued by the restorer in these cases is totally different from that employed by the artist who replaced the original heads in the hunting scenes by the portrait of Constantine. Here the heads *are* the original heads very carefully worked over with the chisel, so closely indeed that at first sight the glaring contrast in style between the third century head and its surroundings, seen at close quarters, seemed almost inexplicable. A minute examination revealed the fact that in the case of the sacrifice to Apollo (No. VI.) a line of breakage runs through the neck and back of the head. The natural inference would be that the Imperial portrait had, as in the case of Constantine, been substituted for that previously existing ; but this is not the case. The breakage has not,

as in the other instances, been designedly made for the purposes of the restorer; were it so, it would not run upwards, as it does, through the back of the head; and moreover the fact of its accidental character is clearly confirmed when we observe that two other heads on the same relief—those of Apollo and of the beardless companion of the Emperor—have likewise been broken and set on again. Evidently this relief had suffered special damage, probably from a fall in the course of transportation from the monument to which it originally belonged, to the Arch of Constantine. In the case of the sacrifice to Hercules it is, I think, possible to estimate the depth of surface lost in the process of working over the original features, for between the inner edge of the toga drawn over the Emperor's head and the surface of the hair a smooth edge of 2–3 millimètres in depth may be observed.

§ 7.—It is now necessary to consider the identification of the Emperor here represented. Now, the Imperial portraits of the third century do not lend themselves readily to identification, as the study of Bernoulli's *Römische Ikonographie* is sufficient to shew. There are, it is true, some fine examples, such as—to go no further—the Pupienus and Philippus of the Braccio Nuovo,[1] as to which reasonable certainty may be said to have been attained. Above all, the easily recognizable portraits of Gallienus reveal an amazing outburst of artistic talent employed in portrait-sculpture under the reign of that Emperor, and enable us to assign to the same period a number of effective works in Roman and other collections;[2] but it has hitherto been impossible to identify with any approach to certainty or even probability the portrait of any Emperor later than Gallienus and earlier than Constantine. Yet it is in all likelihood to this period that our heads belong. The features indeed are well marked. The closely-cut hair recedes from the temples. The brow has deep horizontal furrows in the upper portion, and oblique as well as vertical furrows at the junction of the forehead and nose, where there is a marked indentation. Deep lines are traceable at the corners of the mouth; and the chin, whose bony structure is sharply marked off from that of the jaws, has a central furrow. The indication of the hair and beard by means of a number of

[1] Nos. 54, 124.

[2] *E.g.* Braccio Nuovo, 63; Museo Capitolino, Salone, 38: two unpublished examples in the Magazzino Archeologico.

short, sharp strokes of the chisel on a smooth surface at first sight recalls the methods initiated by portrait-sculptors in the time of Severus Alexander, and no doubt led Arndt[1] (for example) to suggest a resemblance to Gordian (the younger?).[2] But it must be remembered that after a temporary change of fashion under Gallienus the same methods of treatment are again found; and the later date is, I think, clearly indicated by the 'frontality' and fixity of gaze which is plainly to be observed when the heads are viewed *en face* at a short distance. Strictly 'frontal' portraiture is of course the rule under Constantine and his successors; but it is not to be supposed that the victory of the new principle[3] was won in a moment, and our heads are, I venture to think, precisely what we should expect to find, say from 265–295 A.D.

§ 8.—I do not, however, believe that a convincing identification of the Emperor is possible on iconographic grounds alone, chiefly because the coin-types of the period in question are of small merit artistically and possess little iconographic value. But when we consider the context and surroundings of the figures there can, I think, be small doubt as to the identity of the person represented. It is well known that immediately after the death of Maximianus in 310 A.D. Constantine proclaimed himself the grandson of the deified Claudius Gothicus, who was officially represented as having been the father of Constantius Chlorus. It is not necessary here to enlarge upon the political significance of this bold step, which was intended to secure the prestige of legitimacy for the dynasty which the far-seeing Constantine was already determined to found as a counterpoise to the power of Licinius, nor to trace the history of the singular transformation to which the official legend was forced to submit when Christian sentiment took offence at the illegitimacy of the origin ascribed by it to Constantius Chlorus.[4] It will be sufficient to say that from the moment of its first appearance in the seventh Panegyric of Eumenius,[5] delivered, as it would seem, at Trier in the summer of 310, probably only a few weeks after

[1] *Loc. cit.*

[2] This is not consistent with his dating (*circ.* 230 A.D.).

[3] Whose significance has been explained by Riegl, *Die spätrömische Kunstindustrie*, pp. 109 ff. and *Strena Helbigiana*, pp. 250 ff.

[4] See Dessau in *Hermes*, xxiv. 341 f.; Klebs in *Historische Zeitschrift*, xxv. 227; and Seeck in *Neue Jahrbücher f. klass. Philologie*, 1890, 623, and *Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt*, I², 109 f., 487.

[5] *avita cognatio* (§ 2).

the death of Maximianus,[1] the story obtained a remarkable vogue. It is repeated *ad nauseam* by the compilers of the *Historia Augusta*,[2] and is the subject of constant allusion in the literature of the fourth century.[3] Nor is the literary evidence wanting (if it were needed) to shew that Constantine gave a prominent place to representations of his supposed ancestor. The author of the life of Elagabalus in the *Historia Augusta* mentions a golden statue of Claudius set up by Constantine,[4] and it is probable that this statue is really identical with that which, according to the biographer of Claudius,[5] was set up by the people of Rome before the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus—an honour never before conferred upon a Roman Emperor.[6] I am tempted to doubt whether in fact the erection of this statue really dates from the time of Claudius, and was not rather, by a pious fraud, antedated by the Court historians. It is also worthy of note that Julian, in the first of the passages cited in note 3 *infra*, mentions *τὴν ἀφέλειαν τῆς ἐσθῆτος ἐπὶ τῶν εἰκόνων ὁρωμένην ἔτι*, from which we may infer that portraits of Claudius figured amongst those of the reigning dynasty.

If, then, Constantine—who seems to have been careful to replace the head of M. Aurelius by his own on the panels of the attic (*v. infra*)—permitted the head of a third-century Emperor to appear beside his own on the reliefs of

[1] Schanz, *Römische Litteraturgeschichte*, iii. 130; Seeck, *Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt*, I², 487.

[2] *Elag.* 2. 4, 35. 2; *Gall.* 7. 1, 14. 3; *XXX Tyr.* 31. 6; *Claud. passim*; *Aurel.* 44. 4. Two facts are noteworthy in connection with these allusions: (*a*) in the only passage where the relationship of Claudius to the house of Constantine is definitely explained (*Claud.* 13. 2), Constantius is represented as the son of Claudia, niece of Claudius through his brother Crispus, and a certain Eutropius, *i.e.* as the great-nephew of Claudius. This circumstantial account is, however, in conflict with the primary version of the story, which is not only found in the Panegyric of Eumenius, but is implied in numerous inscriptions (*C.I.L.* xi. 9 = Dessau 699; *Bull. Comm.* 1881, p. 197 = Dessau 702; *C.I.L.* ii. 4742 and *Suppl.* 6029 = Dessau 725; *C.I.L.* ii. 4844 = Dessau 730; *C.I.L.* iii. 3705 = Dessau 732 [from Sirmium; date 354–5 A.D.]), according to which Constantius was the *son* of Claudius. It must therefore be regarded as a modification of the official legend due to Christian influence. But (*b*) in several of these passages the so-called Trebellius Pollio speaks of Constantius as 'Caesar,' from which fact Peter (*Die Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, p. 36) and Mommsen (*Hermes*, xxv. 230) infer that Pollio wrote under Diocletian (Constantius became Augustus May 1, 305). In that case he could not allude to a story first put forward in 310, much less to a later modification of it; and there is no reason to suspect interpolation in *Claud.* 13. 2. Thus Mommsen's view is untenable.

[3] Eusebius, probably on account of the objections entertained by the Christians to the story, alludes to it only distantly (*Vita Const.* i. 50; *Hist. Eccl.* x. 8, 4) by the use of the phrase *βασιλικοῦ ἀνέκαθεν αἵματος*. Julian (*Orat.* i. 6 D, ii. 51 C; *Caes.* 313 D) gives no explicit account of the relationship.

[4] 2, 4. [5] 3, 4.

[6] In the *Epitome* (34, 3) and *Caesares* (34, 3) of Aurelius Victor the honour is represented as a reward for the *devotio* of Claudius.

the northern front of the arch, all of which are distinguished by the *nimbus*, there can, I think, be no room for doubt that the Emperor represented must be Claudius Gothicus. Nor do I consider the evidence of the coin-portraits

FIG. 2.

otherwise than favourable to this identification. These portraits are not, indeed, of great iconographic value;[1] but in three marked characteristics,

[1] Bernoulli, *Römische Ikonographie*, iii. 2, Münztafel VI, Nos. 4, 5; Imhoof-Blumer, *Porträtköpfe auf römischen Münzen*, Pl. IV. 96.

the furrowed brow, the receding hair on the temples, and the indentation at the junction of nose and forehead, they agree with the head on the reliefs, which, as we must remember, was not freely executed by the artist, who was to some extent limited by the features already in existence.

FIG. 3.

§ 9.—We have thus to deal with the fact that Constantine borrowed the relief from a monument which had already been appropriated by Claudius Gothicus, whose portrait may, for aught we know, have at one time

appeared on the medallions on which he caused his own to be substituted. It was only natural that, having embraced Christianity as his religion, he should choose the hunting scenes for this purpose rather than those in which acts of pagan sacrifice were represented.

But we are, as I believe, in a position to determine the monument from which the medallions were taken. In order to do so, we must take a further step. In his work on the Ara Pacis Augustae,[1] Petersen (following a conjecture of Hülsen[2]) assigned to that monument two reliefs here reproduced,[3] which are walled into the garden front of the Villa Medici, and represent processions passing in front of two temples, identifiable as those of the Magna Mater on the Palatine and of Mars Ultor in the Forum of Augustus by the subjects shewn in their pedimental decoration. Petersen noted that in the first of these the head of the figure immediately to the right of the temple *façade* had been worked over in a manner precisely similar to those of the two medallions; and further expressed the view[4] that the same Emperor was intended in both cases. This conclusion I heartily endorse, although I have been unable to confirm it by a close examination of the relief in the Villa Medici, which is at a considerable height from the ground. But its full significance only becomes apparent in connexion with the facts stated above.

The Villa Medici reliefs, as the recent excavations have proved, did not belong to the Ara Pacis Augustae. There is no room for them amongst the sculptured friezes of that monument: and what is more, they must be later than the dedication of the altar, which took place in 9 B.C.; for the temple of Mars Ultor was dedicated in 2 B.C.,[5] and that of the Magna Mater was rebuilt by Augustus after a fire which took place in 3 A.D.[6] These dates, however, merely furnish the *terminus post quem;* the reliefs may well be, and, as I believe, are, of a considerably later period. It will be observed that the temples did not occupy the centre of the large compositions to which the slabs must at one time have belonged, but were to the left of the point in which the interest of the scene culminated. Now, that point must in the case of the Magna Mater relief have been the central depression of the Palatine, where the remains of the *domus Flavia* now

[1] Pp. 10, 58 ff. [2] *Röm. Mitth.* 1899, 104.
[3] Figs. 2, 3, from photographs kindly supplied to me by Prof. Petersen.
[4] *Ara Pacis Augustae*, p. 73, note.
[5] Vell. ii. 100. [6] Mon. Anc. iv. 8; Val. Max. i. 8, 11.

stand, while in the other case the temple of Mars Ultor, standing in the Forum of Augustus, would be followed in the relief by a representation of the Forum Transitorium, also the work of a Flavian emperor. It is easy to conjecture that the balance of the composition may have been maintained by the introduction of the temple of Apollo Palatinus in the first case, and the *templum Pacis* in the second. It has even been suggested

FIG. 4.

to me by Mr. A. J. B. Wace that the central portion of the Magna Mater frieze may survive in a relief now in the Uffizi at Florence,[1] here reproduced.

[1] Fig. 4, Dütschke, iii. 29; Amelung, *Florentiner Führer*, 147. The relief came from Rome with the slabs from the Ara Pacis, etc. Mr. Wace suggests that it may possibly be identical with that described by Flaminio Vacca (*Mem.* 37) as *un sacrificio con il vitello et alcuni leviti* which was discovered at or near the Quattro Fontane. In that case it might well have come from the *Gens Flavia* (v. *infra*, p. 243). Mr. Wace has examined the original, and believes it to belong to the Flavian period; he also states that the proportions admit of our assigning the relief to

This represents a sacrifice, to the right of which are seen two *putti* upholding a laureated shield, in front of an architectural background. The building to the left, with its series of gabled projections, might be identified with the *domus Augustana*, while to the right is seen a Corinthian peristyle reached by a high flight of steps in which we might recognise the colonnade of the temple of Apollo. Between the two is a palm-tree, which recalls the story told by Suetonius[1] of the palm which grew in front of Augustus' house, and was removed by him *in compluvium deorum Penatium.*

§ 10.—It is natural to inquire for what reason Claudius Gothicus should have appropriated to his own use a monument of the Flavian period, and in particular why his own portrait should have been introduced in the relief which represents the temple of the Magna Mater. The answer is furnished by the narrative of his accession, given in the fourth chapter of his biography in the *Historia Augusta*, which runs as follows: '*Cum esset nuntiatum viiii. kl. Aprilis ipso in sacrario Matris sanguinis die Claudium imperatorem factum, neque cogi senatus sacrorum celebrandorum causa posset, sumptis togis itum est ad Apollinis templum.*' If, as I have suggested, not only the temple of the Magna Mater, but also that of Apollo Palatinus was represented on the frieze to which the Villa Medici relief belongs, it will be seen at once that Claudius had good reason to convert it to his own use.

But more than this, it is in my belief possible to determine the monument to which the reliefs belonged, and the evidence is again drawn from the *Historia Augusta*, where, in a passage which alludes to his supposed connexion with the house of Constantine (c. 3, 6), the biographer writes: '*ille velut futurorum memor, gentes Flavias quae <Vespasiani> et Titi, nolo autem dicere Domitiani fuerant, propagavit.*' The meaning of this, the only reference made by the biographer of Claudius to his building activity, is made clear by a parallel in the *Vita xxx Tyrannorum* (which also belongs to the series ascribed to Trebellius Pollio). In c. 33, 6 we hear

the same series as those which represent the temples of Magna Mater and Mars Ultor, since the height is now 1·23 m., and the relief is of course incomplete at the top. Petersen estimates the original height of the Villa Medici reliefs at 1·55, in accordance with that of the frieze of the Ara Pacis; it might, however, have been somewhat less. The height of the standing figures would seem to be about the same. Fig. 4 is from photo. Brogi 4085.

[1] *Aug.* 92.

that Censorinus inhabited *domus pulcherrima adiuncta gentibus Flaviis, quae quondam Titi principis fuisse perhibetur.* We thus learn that *gentes Flaviae* bore the same signification as *gens Flavia*, viz., the *templum gentis Flaviae* erected by Domitian on the Quirinal, on the site of the house belonging to Vespasian *ad malum Punicum*, in which he had been born.[1] Claudius, then, amplified and presumably restored this building, and it was doubtless on this occasion that he caused his portrait to be introduced in the Villa Medici relief. It is possible that Claudius attempted to trace his descent from the Flavian Emperors, but there is no evidence of the fact. He is, it is true, called *Flavius Claudius* by his biographer (c. 7, 8), and is so named in a spurious letter inserted in the Life of Aurelian (c. 17, 2), but, as this nomenclature is not confirmed by the inscriptions, it was doubtless a fiction propagated by the Court historians of the Constantinian period in order to support the official legend as to the origin of the dynasty.[2] In any case, however, the fact that Claudius had set his mark on the great monument of the Flavian house may have had its weight with Constantine when he set himself to base a claim to legitimacy on his descent, for he and his family also bore the Flavian name. We learn from the Spello inscription [3] that Constantine and his sons permitted the erection of a *templum gentis Flaviae* at Hispellum, and Aurelius Victor [4] records the fact that a priesthood of the *gens Flavia* was created in Africa.

It seems, therefore, legitimate to suggest (as a working hypothesis) that the medallions of the Arch of Constantine, like the Villa Medici relief, came either from the *gens Flavia* itself or from some monument of the Flavian dynasty appropriated by Claudius Gothicus. It has been convincingly demonstrated by Petersen that the original correspondence between the four pairs of medallions has been obscured by their redistribution,[5] but no reason could be assigned for this dislocation. We are now able to trace the principle of the new arrangement. On the south face of the arch the unrestored medallions represented the Emperors of the *gens Flavia*

[1] It was situated close to the Quattro Fontane, as has been convincingly demonstrated by Hülsen (*Rheinisches Museum*, xlix. 399 ff.).

[2] In the same way the name Valerius (which was borrowed by Constantine from Diocletian) is assigned to Claudius in the *acclamatio* given by his biographer (c. 18, 3); see Klebs in *P.I.R.* i., p. 199.

[3] *C.I.L.* xi. 5625 = Dessau, 705; a *pontifex gentis Flaviae* at Hispellum, *C.I.L.* x. 5283 = Dessau, 6623. There were also *pontifices Flaviales* at Rome (*C.I.L.* vi. 1690 f.).

[4] *Caes.* 40, 28.

[5] *op. cit.*, p. 230, n. 5.

antiqua, if we may use such an expression, while on the northern front the *gens Flavia nova*, distinguished by the solar *nimbus*, which the identification of the Emperor with *Sol invictus* had caused to become the symbol of the new autocracy, is represented by its reputed founder—the '*Flavius* Claudius' of the Court historians—and by its greatest representative, already master of Rome and the West, and soon to be sole ruler of the Empire.[1]

§ 11.—It may be argued that this hypothesis is inconsistent with the iconography and style of the reliefs, and it is therefore necessary to meet the objections which may be raised on these grounds.

I. There are certain technical details in the working of the reliefs which are generally held to indicate a date not earlier than the reign of Trajan. These are:

(1) The plastic rendering of the iris and pupil of the eye;

(2) The treatment of the hair, which Arndt has described as 'restless,' and shews abundant signs of the use of the drill;

(3) The use of the drill in working drapery, trees, and architecture.

Now it is important to observe that archaeologists have formed their conception of Flavian style from an examination of the reliefs of the Arch of Titus, which dates from A.D. 81 or 82, and of Trajanic style from that of the monuments referred to in my previous paper, all of which date from A.D. 110–117. There is in fact an interval of thirty years, in the course of which a transformation of style took place whose stages are very inadequately represented by existing monuments. It is fortunately unnecessary here to argue this point at length, since it is fully dealt with in Mr. Wace's paper. I will only say that the facts which he adduces go far to shew that there is no inherent improbability in the assignment of our reliefs to the closing years of Domitian's reign, which were a time of busy constructive activity.[2] In the absence of monumental reliefs,

[1] It may be asked why the scene of the Imperial *cortège* (No. I.) was removed from its fellow, and not selected to bear the portrait of Constantine. It is possible that Constantine thought it necessary that all the Flavian Emperors—even including Domitian, whose portrait would of course have survived in the private mausoleum of his family—should be represented on the southern front, and that no other medallion remained with Domitian's portrait, either Claudius or Constantine having replaced it by their own features.

[2] The earliest allusions to the *Gens Flavia* are to be found in the Fourth Book of the *Silvae* of Statius and the Ninth of Martial, *i.e.* in 95 A.D. The temple of Minerva in the Forum Transitorium, unfinished at Domitian's death, was dedicated by Nerva after Sept. 18, 97 (*C.I.L.* vi. 31213), and the Janus Quadrifrons, which it contained, by Trajan (Mart. x. 28; 51). The construction was in

archaeologists have formed their conception of Flavian technique mainly from a consideration of portrait-busts and statues. But the conventions of portrait-sculpture (and it is conventions which are in question) are not necessarily the same as those of historical relief. To take a case in point, it is now well known that in monumental sculpture the plastic indication of the pupil is found in a tentative form on the reliefs of the Ara Pacis Augustae, although no portrait-busts of the Julio-Claudian dynasty display such treatment. The precise method by which the indication was given varied greatly until the Antonine period, when a fixed convention was adopted. But there are several portrait-busts, undoubtedly of the Flavian epoch, which shew the plastic treatment of the eye.[1] And if such examples are found in portrait-sculpture, it is natural to expect the same in the case of historical reliefs.[2]

One of the busts just mentioned is also important in connexion with the rendering of the hair. It is in the Sala dei busti of the Vatican (No. 350; No. 10 in Mr. Wace's list), and is remarkable for its likeness to the so-called Marcus Antonius of the Braccio Nuovo.[3] If it does not represent the same person at a later period of life, it certainly reproduces a member of his family, and it is to be noted that the hair is worked in a manner which recalls the *toupets* worn by the Imperial ladies of the Flavian house. These, it is hardly necessary to urge, involve a free use of the drill. The 'Marcus Antonius' of the Braccio Nuovo—perhaps the finest Flavian portrait, whose unbroken bust furnishes conclusive evidence of its date—has been adequately criticised by Mr. Crowfoot, whose words I may here quote with reference to the rendering of the hair:—'In the hair, in spite of its complexity and longitudinal drilling, there is no trace of the restlessness or of the careful dryness which so often spoils the effect of Antonine sculpture.' The medallions of the Arch of Constantine are of course not to be compared for delicacy of treatment with the portrait; yet, if 'restlessness' there be, it is rather to be seen in the Marcus Antonius than in the reliefs.

progress in 95 (Stat. *Silv.* iv. 3, 9 f.), but the use of the expression *Palladium forum* in Mart. i. 2 is no proof that it was begun much earlier; for i. 2 does not necessarily belong even to the time when a second edition of i.–vii. was issued (Schanz, *Römische Litteraturgeschichte*, ii. p. 329), but may have been prefixed to the final edition of Martial's poems. The Forum is not otherwise mentioned in i.–ix. (up to 95 A.D.).

[1] See the list, pp. 290, 291, Nos. 2, 6, 9, 10, 12, 16, 22. See also *J.H.S.* 1900, pp. 33 f.

[2] Mr. Wace informs me that this treatment is found on the Uffizi relief (Fig. 4) in two cases.

[3] No. 97 A; *J.H.S.* 1900, Pl. IV.

The use of the drill in sculpture is a question of degree. It is shewn in Mr. Wace's paper that it was freely used by the monumental sculptors of the Flavian epoch; and in all probability none of the reliefs which he publishes are quite so late as these medallions. Arndt lays stress on its use in the rendering of foliage: here, it is true, parallels are, as it happens, hard to find; but in fact drill-holes are clearly traceable in the laurel branch borne by the figure which heads the Imperial *cortège* on the Arch of Titus.

So far, then, as the argument from technical detail is concerned, there is no decisive proof that the reliefs are later than the close of Domitian's reign. On the other hand, it is not in such detail alone that the spirit of an age finds its expression. Style is in truth more than mere technical conventions. And the style and spirit of the medallions stand in the sharpest contrast to those of the latter years of the reign of Trajan. The monumental sculptures of that period, with which the previous paper was concerned, breathe a spirit which is intensely Roman, intensely serious, and intensely realistic. We see in them the efflorescence of true Italian art, which, for all that it owes to Hellenistic influence and tradition, is no longer dominated thereby. The subjects of representation, the manner in which they are conceived, and the directness with which they are rendered, reflect the spirit of a time of great achievements fully realised and imperishably enshrined in the creations of a truly Imperial art. Into the sculptures of the Arch of Beneventum, for example, there is crowded, as von Domaszewski has shewn, a wealth of meaning which makes the monument a summary of all that Trajan achieved for Italy and the Empire. In technique and composition, however, there is loss as well as gain. New experiments in perspective, such as are attempted in the reliefs of Trajan's Column, lead in some cases to conspicuous failure. In composition there is a tendency to overcrowding; balance and symmetry are obscured, and the impression of free space is lost. In details the work is hard and dry, and even at its best shews care rather than facility.

The medallions belong to a very different school. Decorative as they are, they are yet of considerable technical merit, and display remarkable facility and even *bravura* in execution. The figures of Apollo and Artemis, for example, when seen at close quarters, reveal a degree of artistic talent not often reached in sculpture of an ornamental character, destined to be subordinate to an architectural design and to be viewed at a

considerable distance. The compositions do not as a whole deserve the hard words applied to them by Arndt, who brands them as 'lifeless, smooth, and artificial,' and regards the figures as 'grouped together in a representative whole rather than inwardly connected by a common action.' It seems to me, on the contrary, that the artist has attained no small measure of success in solving a somewhat difficult problem. From the nature of his subject it was not easy to avoid monotony and repetition of motives, yet this is exactly what he has achieved. Amongst the four scenes of sacrifice we have two in which the image occupies a central position (Apollo and Artemis); but while in the latter case there is strict symmetry between the figures on either side, in the former the balance of the composition shews greater freedom. In the other two scenes it is the figure of the Emperor, not of the divinity, which forms the centre of the composition, while the direction of the movement and the nature of the background are varied. So, too, in the case of the hunting-scenes, the actual pursuit—in representing which repetition could not well be avoided—is only shewn twice, with contrast in the lines of the triangle of riders and the position of the Emperor; in the other scenes, a strictly symmetrical composition in the instance of the lion-hunt[1] contrasts with a freely balanced group with architectural background of which the Emperor forms the centre. All this shews great fertility of resource, and reveals an artist who triumphs in the concealment of art. The panels of the arch at Beneventum, even the finest, lack this nicety of balance, just as they fall short of the spaciousness and freedom of the medallions.

But with all their brilliance in execution, the *tondi* are lacking in the seriousness of Trajanic sculpture. Rossini[2] and Arndt (independently) have recalled the fact that a coin of Trajan[3] represents the arch at the entrance to the Forum Trajani as decorated with medallion-sculptures. But what could be more incongruous with the *ensemble* of the sculptures of that Forum—as we know them from the Column and the Great Frieze—than these hunting scenes, which are devoid of historical and political significance? It is far more probable that the *clipei* of the arch contained large busts, either (as is most likely) of divinities or of members of the Imperial house. Since the time of Bellori it has been customary to quote in illus-

[1] This however is not a central composition, but has *two* culminating points in the figures of the Emperor and his *comes*, so that the rise and fall of the interest may be represented by the line M.

[2] *Archi trionfali*, p. 11.

[3] Cohen, 167; Pl. XXIX. No. 5.

tration of the medallions a passage from the *Panegyricus* of Pliny the Younger (c. 81), who thus addresses Trajan: '*Quae enim remissio tibi nisi lustrare saltus, excutere cubilibus feras, superare immensa montium iuga et horrentibus scopulis gradum inferre nullius manu, nullius vestigio adiutum atque inter haec pia mente adire lucos et occursare numinibus?*' It is no doubt true that the medallions might well serve to illustrate the *Panegyricus*, if such an illustration were consonant with the spirit of the time. But this is precisely the reverse of the fact.[1] And it will not be forgotten that Domitian's favourite recreation was the slaying of wild beasts at his villa at Albano. Suetonius (c. 19) writes of him: '*Centenas varii generis feras saepe in Albano secessu conficientem spectavere plerique, atque etiam ex industria ita quarundam capita figentem ut duobus ictibus quasi cornua efficeret.*' We may recall the famous story of Acilius Glabrio the Younger, of whom Juvenal writes (iv. 99)

> *profuit ergo nihil misero quod comminus ursos*
> *figebat Numidas Albana nudus harena*
> *uenator* ;

while Dio (lxvii. 14) tells us that when consul he killed a lion in Domitian's presence. That such exploits should be held worthy of commemoration rather than the conquest of provinces or acts of Imperial clemency or bounty, is characteristic of the time and personality of Domitian.[2]

II. The iconography of the medallions has already been discussed in §§ 2–4, where it was shewn that the identification of certain figures with Hadrian and Antinous could not be maintained, while no personages of the time of Trajan could be recognized. It is, however, possible to draw certain more positive inferences from the facts. It was said above that in the one case where the features of the original Imperial portrait are partly

[1] Arndt calls attention to the fact that Hadrian hunted boars (Dio, lxix. 10), bears (Dio, *l.c.* *Vita Hadr.* 20. 13, Kaibel, *Epigr. Graeca*, 811), and lions (Ath. xv. 677 E, *Vita Hadr.* 26. 3), and his passion for the chase is perpetuated by coin-types (Cohen, 502 f.). And it cannot be denied that, if the medallions are later than the Flavian period, they are far more in keeping with the spirit of Hadrian's time than with that of Trajan's rule.

[2] The representation of Silvanus is perhaps not without significance. In 1887 a sanctuary of Silvanus was discovered at no great distance from the site of the *Gens Flavia* (*Notizie degli Scavi*, 1887, p. 109; *Bull. Comm.* 1887, p. 102; *Rhein. Mus.* 1894, p. 400), and one of the three dedications there found belongs to Flavius Sabinus, whose house, as is well known, adjoined the *Gens Flavia* (*Rhein. Mus. l.c.*). Cp. *C.I.L.* vi. 644, *Silvanus Flaviorum*.

preserved, their present condition does not admit of certain identification. It is, however, important to observe that the lower part of the face is decidedly full, a feature which is characteristic of the Flavian emperors rather than of Trajan—particularly the Trajan of later years, as shewn *e.g.* on the arch of Beneventum. Indeed, after examining closely both this head and that of Titus (also imperfectly preserved) on the relief in the passage-way of his Arch, I see no improbability in the supposition that the same person is represented in both reliefs. With regard to the other figures, it is important to distinguish the aristocratic *comites* of the Emperor (whose portraits are carefully rendered) from the attendants, amongst whom are to be included the figures which have been supposed to resemble Hadrian and Antinous. Their subordinate character is indicated clearly enough by their position and functions in the several scenes; thus a bearded figure stands immediately behind the Emperor in No. VI. and in the background of Nos. I. and VII.;[1] in the first of these latter cases he holds a lance which marks him out as a representative of the *speculatores praetoriani*[2]—a corps which, as will be remembered, was apparently accorded special privileges by the first Emperor of the Flavian house.[3] The same body is represented by a figure wearing short whiskers and carrying the lance in No. VIII. Beard and whiskers, it may be noted, are worn by the lictors and other attendants of the Emperors from the Flavian period onwards,[4] though the habit was not adopted by persons of rank until Hadrian set the fashion. It is also to be noted that the Emperor and his *comites* are always shod differently from the attendants. Wherever the feet are sufficiently well preserved to admit of certainty, we observe that the principal figures wear peculiar *calcei* whose 'uppers' consist in two flaps of leather laced together in front, forming a light shoe better adapted for the chase than the *calceus senatorius* worn with State dress, except in the case of No. II., where the Emperor wears the *caliga*. The attendants, on the other hand, either wear *calcei* of a different type from those of the Emperor and his companions or (in several cases) go barefoot.

In externals, then, the artist has given clear indication of the distinctions of rank between the several figures. But more than this, the facial

[1] Petersen sees a resemblance between this figure and the bust in the Museo Capitolino, *Galleria* 32. This latter is, however, a modern work; it is intended as a portrait of Hadrian.

[2] See below, p. 263 (and note).

[3] From Vespasian's time they are separately mentioned in the *Diplomata*.

[4] *E.g.* on the Arch of Titus. See Mr. Wace's remarks, *infra*, p. 278.

type of the aristocratic members of the Emperor's suite, who have clearly been studied from the life, is very marked. It is that of the Flavian period, whose portraits are so easily recognizable in Roman and other museums, and in more than one case there is a very strong likeness to the Emperors of the Flavian dynasty. It is somewhat difficult to determine with certainty how many individuals are here represented. The most striking portrait is that of the figure facing the Emperor in No. VII. (the lion-hunt), with exceptionally heavy eyebrows. I do not think it possible

FIG. 5.

FIG. 6.

to identify him with any other figure on these reliefs, unless it be that which rides in front of the Emperor in No. III. (Fig. 5); but he is, I think, clearly identical with the person represented on one of the larger fragments from the Lateran, published by Mr. Wace (Pl. XXX. Fig. 1).[1] A second individual is the beardless figure who leads a horse in No. VI. and faces the Emperor in No. VIII.; while a third—whose resemblance to Vespasian

[1] But *not* with the so-called 'Domitius Ahenobarbus' of the Museo Chiaramonti (No. 561; Bernoulli, *Römische Ikonographie*, i. Pl. IX.), with which the head has been compared by Petersen.

is striking—rides behind the Emperor in No. V., and is perhaps also to be recognized to the spectator's left in No. IV. (Fig. 6).[1] It may well be that some of these portraits represent members of the Flavian house, whose presence would be natural if the *Gens Flavia* were the original destination of the medallions; in any case it is, I think, impossible that such a gallery of Flavian portraiture can belong to a time appreciably later than the death of Domitian.

III.—THE 'AURELIAN' PANELS OF THE ARCH OF CONSTANTINE.

§ 1.—The eight sculptured panels which decorate the attic of the Arch of Constantine on its northern and southern faces were, like the other reliefs whose origin was clearly earlier than the building of the Arch, attributed to Trajan by Bellori and by all the writers who followed him, until Petersen, at a meeting of the German Institute held on March 14, 1890,[2] demonstrated that they belonged to a different period. The head of the Emperor has in each of the eight cases been restored to represent Constantine; but it is not certain at what date the present restorations were executed. So far as can be judged from photographs, the heads would seem to belong to the period of Clement XII., who caused the sculptures of the Arch to be restored in 1731. The engravers of the seventeenth century[3] likewise represent the Emperor as beardless; but, as they give a restored rendering of all the reliefs of the Arch and embodied their own theory as to the Emperor represented, their evidence is inconclusive. From the sixteenth century we have the engravings of Battista Franco[4] for certain of the scenes. The artist indifferently draws the Emperor as bearded and beardless; and as he places a bearded figure immediately in front of the Emperor in the scene which takes place in the Castra Praetoria, and likewise gives the boy-hostage a beard, we cannot attach any importance to his reproductions. On the other hand, a sixteenth-century drawing formerly in the Hamilton Laing collection and now in

[1] Figs. 5 and 6 are from photographs taken by Mr. A. J. B. Wace.

[2] The true dating first appears in Petersen's article on the *tondi*, *Röm. Mitth.* 1889, 317. His paper on the reliefs is published *Röm. Mitth.* 1890, 73 ff.

[3] Perrier, *Icones et segmenta*, Pls. XXVII.–XXXIV.; Bellori, *Veteres arcus Augustorum*, Pls. XXIV.–XXXI.

[4] Bartsch, *Le Peintre-graveur*, xvi. 135, Nos. 48–53.

the possession of the Royal Scottish Academy,[1] which represents the S. face of the Arch, shews the figure of the Emperor *headless*, and it therefore seems highly probable that Constantine caused his own features to be substituted for those of the original sculptures, but that the Constantinian heads, being insecurely fixed, were lost at a comparatively early date and restored by Clement XII.

The style of the reliefs, as Petersen points out, leaves no doubt whatever that they belong to the time of M. Aurelius and to the same series as the three reliefs in the Palazzo dei Conservatori removed thither from the church of S. Martina in 1525.[2] Petersen, indeed, considers that the fourth relief in the Palazzo dei Conservatori, which (as was mentioned above, p. 220) was brought thither from the Piazza Sciarra, may belong to the same series; but, apart from the fact that its style seems to point to an earlier date, the subject represented would be extremely difficult to place in the series now under consideration.

§ 2.—We have thus to deal with eleven panels representing the wars waged by M. Aurelius on the Danube frontier and his ultimate triumph; and it is natural to suppose that as they now decorate a triumphal arch they were so employed originally. In that case they must once have been even in number, and not less than twelve. More than this we cannot say with certainty; but an examination of the subjects may lead us to a probable conjecture.

The existence of one such triumphal arch of M. Aurelius is proved by the inscription copied by the Anonymus Einsiedlensis 'in Capitolio' (*C.I.L.* vi. 1014), whose text runs as follows:—'S.P.Q.R.—Imp. Caes. divi Antonini fil. divi Veri Parth. Max. fratri, divi Hadriani nep., divi Traian Parth. [pro]nep., divi Nervae abnep. M. Aurelio Antonino Aug. Germ. Sarm., pontif. maxim. tribunic. pot. xxx, imp. viii, cos. iii, p.p., quod omnes omnium ante se maximorum imperatorum glorias supergressus, bellicosissimis gentibus deletis aut subactis . . .'

The date of this inscription is 176, and there can therefore be no doubt

[1] It is contained in vol. xi. fol. 24 of the Hamilton Laing drawings and is reproduced (Plate XX. Fig. 2) from a photograph by Mr. Inglis, taken by the kind permission of the President and Fellows of the Royal Scottish Academy.

[2] See Rodocanachi, *Le Capitole romain*, 143[5]; Lanciani, *Storia degli Scavi*, i. 221 f. Rodocanachi gives the date as 1524. I am unable to reconcile the discrepancy between these authors as to the document recording the transaction. R. gives Cred. i. 15, f. 139; L., Cred. i. 35, c. 177.

that it was erected in commemoration of the triumph celebrated by Marcus over the Germans and Sarmatians towards the close of that year.[1]

It is moreover probable that its site was in the immediate neighbourhood of the church of S. Martina, from whence, as we saw, the three reliefs in the Palazzo dei Conservatori were taken. The evidence for the existence of an arch in this region is as follows:—

(i.) The lists of *arcus triumphales* contained in the *Mirabilia* and its various recensions which follows the line of the Via Lata ends with the *arcus panis aurei in Capitolio* (so the twelfth-century document and the Anonymus Magliabecchianus, while the thirteenth and fourteenth century recensions speak of the same monument as *arcus aureus in Capitolio*).

(ii.) In a document which purports to be a bull of John III.,[2] but which is probably scarcely earlier than 1200 A.D., the limits of the parish of the SS. Apostoli are traced. From the church of S. Maria in Via Lata the boundary runs as follows:—'*inde recto itinere producitur per viam quae est sub monte Tarpeio usque ad arcum argentariorum et inde itur ad laevum per viam secus hortum qui dicitur mirabilis, etc.*' Here the term *arcus argentariorum* is used because the arch in question spanned the Clivus Argentarius (roughly corresponding with the modern Via di Marforio). The *hortus mirabilis* occupied part of the site of the Forum of Augustus (see Lanciani, *Forma Urbis Romae* 22).

There seems no reason to doubt that this arch, which is described, like the inscription copied by the Anonymus Einsiedlensis, as being *in Capitolio*, was the source of the reliefs preserved in the church of S. Martina hard by, nor would it in any case be necessary to go further afield in the search for their *provenance*; but it is doubtful if another arch was erected in honour of Marcus Aurelius in Rome. Mr. Frothingham[3] has recently suggested that the *Arcus de Tosectis* mentioned in mediaeval authorities was a triumphal arch of Marcus; but I have ventured to give reasons for doubting this in a note appended to this paper.

[1] Von Rohden (in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie*, i. 2302) thinks that the triumph took place Nov. 27, on which date Commodus received the title of Imperator, and that Commodus triumphed alone on Dec. 23; but it is repeatedly stated (as he admits) that father and son triumphed jointly, and the fact that the inscription quoted above is dated in the 30th *tribunicia potestas* of Marcus furnishes no proof whatever of the fact that the actual triumph had taken place by Dec. 10.

[2] Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom*, ii. 669 f.; Urlichs, *Codex Topographicus Urbis Romae*, pp. 199 f.

[3] *Amer. Journ. Arch.* 1904, pp. 26 (No. 261), 34.

§ 3.—It would seem, then, that our reliefs belonged to a monument erected in 176 A.D. to commemorate the double triumph of Marcus over the Germans and Sarmatians[1] which took place in the closing months of the year.[2] They therefore challenge comparison with the reliefs of the Antonine Column, which, as is generally believed, formed a memorial of the same triumph. But here we are met by an initial difficulty. In spite of all that has been done for the interpretation of the reliefs of the column by the fine publication which we owe to the initiative of the German Emperor, they present to us problems which are still unsolved. Von Domaszewski, indeed, has endeavoured by a brilliant series of divinations to trace the history of Marcus' campaigns as depicted on the column; but his assumption that the two halves of the series correspond with the *Bellum Germanicum* (171–172) and the *Bellum Sarmaticum* (174–175) is combated by Mommsen, who believes the column to have been erected after the death of the Emperor, and to represent in the first series of reliefs the campaigns previous to the triumph of 176, and in the second those which intervened between that triumph and the death of Marcus. In that case the analogy of the Column of Trajan, where the central Victory symbolizes the first Dacian triumph, will be exactly followed; but the theory is open to the serious objection that Commodus, who accompanied his father in the later war, is nowhere represented.

The truth is that we are met by a serious dilemma. It is beyond dispute that the natural phenomenon known to Christian tradition as the Miracle of the Thundering Legion is represented on the column.[3] Now this occurrence is dated by Cassius Dio (in Xiphilinus' epitome) in the year 174, for it is brought into connexion with the seventh *salutatio imperatoria* of Marcus, which is fixed to that year by the evidence of coins[4] and inscriptions,[5] and also (as appears from the order of the narrative) with the consulship of Pertinax, which office he is said by his biographer to have held 'shortly before the revolt of Avidius Cassius' (in 175). On the other hand, the place which the scene occupies on the column is in the

[1] We have coins with the legend DE GERM. (Cohen, 154, 161) and DE SARM. (Cohen, 164 f.).

[2] On the date see p. 253, note 1.

[3] Scene xvi.

[4] Imp. VII. is found on some coins of 174 (Cohen, 311 ff.), but not *e.g.* on the *Adventus Augusti* coins struck early in the year.

[5] The title is not found *e.g.* on *C.I.L.* xi. 371 (Ariminum), but is *e.g.* on *C.I.L.* viii. 17869 (Lambaesis).

first of the campaigns represented, which according to von Domaszewski belongs to the year 171 and the *bellum Germanicum*. We seem therefore at first sight compelled either to reject (with von Domaszewski) the testimony of Dio as to the date of the occurrence, and to place it in 171, or (with Mommsen) to treat the narrative of the column as beginning in 174 and as interrupted by the triumph of 176.

I do not, however, feel sure that it is possible to reconstruct from the scenes of the Antonine column a continuous narrative of military operations such as the studies of Cichorius and Petersen have enabled us to trace in the reliefs of Trajan's column. It may be doubted, indeed, whether it was possible to frame so definite a plan of campaign as that whose objective (in both of Trajan's wars) was necessarily the occupation of the Dacian capital. Marcus' aim was not to add to the Empire a definite territory, or indeed any territory, but to break up and render powerless for aggression a widely-spread coalition of tribes and to secure the barrier of the Danube from such inroads as had threatened the peace and security of Italy in 166. He took the field in 169[1] as sole commander of the Roman armies, Verus having died in January, and, making Carnuntum his base of operations during a period of three years,[2] gradually broke up the combination of German peoples and defeated them in detail. We cannot even be sure of the order in which the excerpts by various writers from Cassius Dio should be placed; but it seems highly probable that the Quadi were first attacked,[3] and terms granted to them on their submission in order to detach them from the Marcomanni, their neighbours on the west, who could thus be dealt with by themselves and were moreover separated from the Sarmatian Iazyges by a neutral zone. The biographer of Marcus speaks of a victory won over the Marcomanni *in ipso transitu Danuvii*, which was doubtless the occasion of the sixth *salutatio imperatoria*, recorded on coins of 171[4]; but there remained much to be done before the situation could be deemed secure, and the legend *Germania subacta* on the coins of 172, 173, and 174[5] alludes to the toilsome process which the Emperor felt obliged to superintend in person.

[1] Coins of 169 have the legend *profectio Augusti* (Cohen, 500).

[2] Eutrop. viii. 13, *cum apud Carnuntum iugi triennio perseveraret, bellum Marcomannicum confecit.*

[3] The *subscriptio* of the *first* book of the Meditations of Marcus is τὰ ἐν Κουάδοις πρὸς τῷ Γρανούᾳ, that of the *second* is τὰ ἐν Καρνούντῳ.

[4] Cohen, 260, 267 ff., 276, 279.

[5] Cohen, 214, 215 f., 217–226.

He assumed the title Germanicus in 172,[1] and on Oct. 15 of that year conferred it on Commodus, now eleven years of age.

In 174 the scene changes. To the *bellum Germanicum* has succeeded the *bellum Sarmaticum*. The chief enemy are the Iazyges, whose position between the Danube and the Theiss was flanked on both sides by the provinces of Pannonia and Dacia. In this war the Emperor's headquarters appear to have been at Sirmium, where the famous trial of Herodes Atticus took place.[2] But the situation in the year 174 was rendered especially difficult by the treachery of the Quadi, who violated the treaty made in the earlier war and made common cause with the Iazyges.[3] It was in this second conflict with the Quadi that the miraculous thunderstorm took place and the victory leading to the seventh *salutatio imperatoria* was won, according to Dio's dating (*v. supra*). In 175 a victory over the Iazyges was greeted with an eighth *salutatio*,[4] and Marcus assumed the title Sarmaticus.[5] But the rebellion of Avidius Cassius prevented the Emperor from reaping the full fruits of his victory, and caused his triumph to be deferred until his return to Rome in 176. It has been a matter of dispute whether he had visited the capital since his departure for the seat of war in 169; but on this point, as we shall see presently, the evidence of our reliefs seems decisive.

Now, if Dio's testimony with regard to the miraculous thunderstorm be accepted, it is quite clear that the order of events represented on the column is ideal, not historical; for the occurrence belongs to the period of the *bellum Sarmaticum* and not to that of the *bellum Germanicum*. But the artists of the column clearly distinguish two barbarian types, of which one is German and the other doubtless Sarmatian, and, as Petersen has demonstrated, the former prevails (though not to the complete exclusion of the other) in the scenes of the first half, while the latter predominates in those of the second. I believe therefore that we have no attempt to trace a continuous narrative of the campaigns on the Danube, but rather a selection of typical scenes and operations grouped according to the people involved in the war. It should be observed that the occurrence of the well-known scenes of the *lustratio exercitus* and *allocutio* cannot be

[1] Commodus received the title Oct. 15, 172 (*Vita Comm.* 11, 13), and it is found on *C.I.L.* iii. 1450 (tr. pot. xxvi., but Imp. v.), viii. 4209 (arch at Verecunda).

[2] Philostr. *Soph.* ii. 1, p. 67 K.

[3] Dio, lxxi. 13.

[4] Cohen, 353–355.

[5] *C.I.L.* viii. 2276.

used (as in the case of Trajan's Column) to define the commencement of each campaign. There is no *lustratio exercitus* in the second half of the series; and that which is shewn in scene xxx, immediately *following* a victory at the passage of a river (perhaps that in which the Marcomanni were defeated), most certainly does *not* inaugurate a new campaign. I cannot, then, follow von Domaszewski in his ingenious attempt to define time and place of the several operations represented, and believe that the principle of typical selection — which our panels shew in a more direct form—must be admitted. The thunderstorm was thus represented because the Quadi were the enemy engaged, and the Quadi hold the first place in the series.[1]

It was necessary to discuss the reliefs of the Antonine Column in order to shew that they afford no certain canon of interpretation for our panels, except in so far as they clearly distinguish the *bellum Germanicum* from the *bellum Sarmaticum*, a distinction confirmed by the fact of the double triumph and the assumption of both the corresponding titles by the Emperor.[2] Now, the same differentiation of barbarous types which Petersen has noted on the column[3] clearly recurs in the panels of the arch. On the one hand, in the scene which shews two prisoners brought into camp there is no difficulty in recognizing the true Sarmatian type, whose traits Petersen has described. The skull is flat and sloping, the hair wild and tangled, and in one case brushed back from the forehead; the moustache and beard leave the cheeks free and display the prominent cheek-bone; the superciliar arch is prominent; the mouth wide open. This last characteristic heightens the effect of violence and passion produced by the motions and gesticulations of the figures; the motion specially noted by Petersen, viz., the throwing back of the head and upward gaze, is here found in the figure nearest the Emperor.

[1] This is not the place to discuss the source and value of the apocryphal letter of Marcus relating the story of the miraculous thunderstorm (recently treated by Geffcken, *Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Alterthum*, 1899, 264 ff.); but it may be observed that it shews some signs of accurate knowledge, *e.g.* of the legions engaged (*not* including xii. Fulminata), and also of the district in which the occurrence took place—ἐν Κοτίνῳ MS., corrected to ἐν Κοτίνοις—for the Κότινοι, who, as v. Domaszewski shews, are to be placed on the upper course of the Gran, were precisely ἐν τῇ μεθορίᾳ Κουάδων καὶ Σαρματῶν (restored for the corrupt forms of the MS.) and came into contact with the Imperial troops (Dio, 71, 12).

[2] Von Domaszewski adds the testimony of inscriptions (*Neue Heidelberger Jahrbücher*, v. 119 f.; *Marcussäule*, 106[6]), but those which he quotes as mentioning *bellum Germanicum et Sarmaticum* all clearly refer to the wars *after* 176, in which Commodus was also engaged.

[3] *Die Marcussäule*, 46 f.

It is equally clear that in the other two panels where barbarians are represented we are to see the German type. This is especially clear in the case of the relief in the Palazzo dei Conservatori, when two barbarians kneel before the Emperor in the field. The high round skull, the beard and whiskers short but full, the regularity of the features, and absence of violence in expression or motion, leave no doubt as to the nationality represented. In the case of the panel from the arch we can draw a close parallel with a scene on the column; for the gesture of the father who makes submission with his son, or perhaps brings him as a hostage, is repeated in scene xvii, which represents wholesale surrenders as taking place immediately after the miraculous thunderstorm. Here also the tribes concerned are naturally of German nationality.

We are therefore led to suppose that the reliefs of the arch fell into two series corresponding with the *bellum Germanicum* and *bellum Sarmaticum* respectively. But it is clear that no inference can be drawn as to the original order of the reliefs from that which they occupy in their present position.[1] We find, however, that while in the case of the *bellum Germanicum* we have two panels, one of which represents the submission of the enemy in the field, while on the other are seen hostages brought into the camp, only one panel is devoted to the *bellum Sarmaticum*, and that shews prisoners brought before the Emperor's tribunal. We may therefore fairly assume that a panel is missing which represented the success of the Emperor against the Sarmatians in the field. This will raise the number of panels to twelve, and it may be that this was the original total. In that case, as it will be shewn that the two scenes representing the entry of Marcus into Rome balance those on which his triumph is depicted, while the *allocutio in castris* has its counterpart in the *congiarium*, the *lustratio exercitus* and *allocutio* to the field army must be distributed between the two wars, unless we assume that the subjects were duplicated, as is quite possible, making the total number of panels fourteen. A possible arrangement of the fourteen panels will be suggested below.

We must now turn our attention to the panels which most urgently call for explanation, viz., the two which represent the *adventus Augusti* in

[1] As we have seen, at least four of the series (including three in the Palazzo dei Conservatori) were not employed by Constantine in the decoration of his arch. Monaci (*Bull. Comm.* 1900, 25 ff.) is not therefore justified in treating the series as complete and in arguing from the order of the arch as original.

successive stages. Here the reliefs furnish us, as I believe, with definite historical and topographical information.

There is a coin of the year 174 (Pl. XXIX., No. 6)[1] which bears the legend ADVENTUS AUG., but, as it is previous to the seventh *salutatio imperatoria*, must belong to the earlier part of the year. The evidence of the coin as to an actual return of the Emperor to Rome has, however, been called in question. Von Rohden in Pauly-Wissowa's *Realencyclopädie* (i. 2299) expresses a doubt as to the fact of such a return having taken place, and suggests that the coin proves merely that the hope and expectations of the Emperor's arrival in Rome existed. He calls attention to the occurrence of the legend Fort(una) Red(ux) on coins of 170 (Cohen, 205), which furnishes no proof that Marcus returned to Italy in that year.[2] But there is a great difference between the issue of coins with the latter legend, which commonly took place during the absence of an emperor, and that of a carefully dated type with *Adventus Augusti*, which was of rare occurrence and always denoted an actual entry of the *princeps* into Rome.[3] And above all, the representation on the coin coincides in so remarkable a manner with those of the arch that no doubt can be possible as to their reference to the same event, which, it is hardly necessary to add, must clearly in the latter case be one which actually took place. The coin shews a *cortège* consisting of the Emperor, preceded by an *aquilifer* (representing the legions) and a *signifer* of the guard, and followed by Victory holding a wreath over his head, in the act of approaching a quadrifrontal arch or *Janus* surmounted by a *quadriga* of elephants. Above the *cortège* we see the upper storey of a building with windows, perhaps a *porticus*, and behind it a tetrastyle temple with a flight of steps, before which is an altar on which a fire is burning. Now, the essential features of the scene—viz., the quadrifrontal arch with *quadriga* of elephants (through which we are to assume the *cortège* to pass) and the tetrastyle temple—recur in the panels of the arch. The *porticus* is absent, but in the fourth panel we see in front of the Emperor a reclining figure, whose left arm rests on a wheel, in whom one of the great roads is personified. It is, I believe, possible to identify both arch and

[1] A bronze medallion in the Cabinet des Médailles (Cohen, 3). The legend of the obverse is M. ANTONINVS AVG. TR. P. XXVIII, of the reverse ADVENTVS AVG. IMP. VI. COS. III.

[2] We may add that the dedication of a temple to Fortuna Redux at Ascoli in 172 (*C.I.L.* ix. 5177) is likewise the embodiment of a hope not destined to immediate fulfilment.

[3] Parallel cases are those of Hadrian (Cohen, 91 f. [118 A.D.]) and Commodus (Cohen, 1, 2 [*Adventus Caesaris*, 176 A.D.—not 175, as Cohen states], and 3 [180 A.D.]).

temple. Monaci believes that the entry of the Emperor took place by the Via Appia, that the temple is that of Mars Extramuranus, and the arch (in the first scene) that which is mentioned in mediaeval descriptions of Rome, *foris portam Appiam ad templum Martis;* while the arch in the second scene is to be distinguished therefrom, and identified with the arch of Lucius Verus in the First Region. In that case, however, the final return of Marcus from the East by way of Brundisium[1] would be represented, whereas the two scenes clearly shew the termination of the *bellum Germanicum* and balance the triumphs depicted in the reliefs of the Palazzo dei Conservatori. In 174 the Emperor returned from the Danube by the Via Flaminia, which must be the road represented in the second panel. This being the case, I feel no hesitation in identifying arch and temple as those of Domitian and Fortuna Redux respectively.

The proximity of these monuments is attested by an epigram of Martial (viii. 65), written in 93 A.D., which runs as follows:

'Hic ubi Fortunae Reducis fulgentia late
templa nitent, felix area nuper erat:
hic stetit Arctoi formonsus pulvere belli
purpureum fundens Caesar ab ore iubar;
hic lauru redimita comas et candida cultu
Roma salutavit voce manuque ducem.
Grande loci meritum testantur et altera dona:
stat sacer et domitis gentibus arcus ovat:
hic gemini currus numerant elephanta frequentem,
sufficit immensis aureus ipse iugis.
Haec est digna tuis, Germanice, porta triumphis;
hos aditus urbem Martis habere decet.'

From vv. 11, 12 it has been inferred that Domitian rebuilt the *Porta Triumphalis*, which was in the neighbourhood of the Circus Flaminius, but the words of Martial do not by any means necessarily bear this sense.

On the other hand, the list of *arcus triumphales* given in the mediaeval descriptions contains one which spanned the Via Lata in the neighbourhood of S. Marco, and is not associated with the name of any emperor. This is the *arcus manus carneae* of the *Mirabilia* and its various recensions. From the thirteenth century onwards the name is explained

[1] *Vita Marci*, 27, 3.

by reference to a legend connected with the persecution of Diocletian, and this led the Anonymus Magliabecchianus to identify it wrongly with the Arcus Diocletiani, whose site was in the neighbourhood, not of S. Marco, but of S. Maria in Via Lata.[1] It may reasonably be conjectured that the legend arose from the misinterpretation of the hand which so often crowns the legionary *signum*. Probably the part of the *signum* immediately below the hand was broken and the hand itself thus isolated.

The *arcus manus carneae* is also mentioned in the *Ordo Benedicti*,[2] where the course of the procession from the Vatican to the Lateran is described in the following terms: '*ascendit per Pineam iuxta Pallacinam et prosiliens ante S. Marcum ascendit sub arcu manus carneae.*'

The Vicus Pallacinae corresponds roughly with the modern Via di S. Marco,[3] and the arch clearly stood at the junction of this street with the Via Lata in or about the present Piazza di Venezia.

Now, the coins of Domitian represent various triumphal arches erected by that Emperor,[4] and in every case these are of quadrifrontal form, surmounted by *quadrigae* of elephants—the type known by the special name *janus*.[5] One of these coins is dated 95 A.D., and may well reproduce the arch erected in commemoration of the double triumph of 93 A.D. over the Suevi and Sarmatae, and if we add to its evidence the testimony of Martial that the arch erected in the neighbourhood of the temple of Fortuna Redux was surmounted by *quadrigae* of elephants, we shall obtain a conception exactly fulfilled by the arch represented on the two Aurelian panels.[6]

Moreover, the temple represented to the left, both on the coin No. 6 and on the panel No. III., may be identified with that of Fortuna Redux, built (as

[1] See note at end of this paper.

[2] Mabillon, *Mus. Ital.* ii. 143; Jordan, *Topographie*, ii. 664 ff.; Lanciani, *Mon. Linc.* i. 549 ff. Mgr. Duchesne has recently conjectured (*Mélanges de l'École française*, xxiv. 485) that Benedict, Canon of St. Peter's, author of the *Ordo Romanus*, was also the compiler of the *Mirabilia* and wrote under Innocent II. It is therefore not surprising to find the arch mentioned under the same name in both documents.

[3] Lanciani, F.U.R. 21.

[4] Cohen, 530 (cos xi. = 85 A.D.), 531 (cos xvii. = 95 A.D.), 672 (cos xv = 90–91 A.D.). All are large bronzes. Pl. XXIX. Figs. 1–3. The specimen given of the last (Pl. XXIX. Fig. 3) has the reverse type incuse, in place of the usual obverse.

[5] It is noteworthy that Suetonius, in recalling the number of arches erected by Domitian, speaks of '*ianos arcusque*' (Dom. 13).

[6] That two sides of the same arch are represented on the successive panels is clear from the position of the wreath. In accordance with the abbreviation practised by the artist, only one of the *quadrigae* of elephants is shewn.

may be inferred from the epigram of Martial referred to above) in the neighbourhood of the arch which we have just identified. That this temple is one of Fortuna may, I think, clearly be inferred from the representation of the pediment on panel III., where Fortuna holding patera and cornucopiae stands with wheel and cornucopiae on either side of her. It in nowise detracts from the probability of this identification that the temple is here tetrastyle, whereas it is represented on coins as hexastyle,[1] for the example of panel VII., where the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus is represented as tetrastyle, is sufficient to shew that the sculptor considered himself justified in adopting an abbreviated method of reproducing the temple-front. Moreover, in the relief Fortuna Redux is seen in person (with caduceus and cornucopiae) greeting the returning Emperor.

Finally, the coin (though not the reliefs) shews between the temple and arch what appears to be the upper storey of a *porticus*. This may well be identical with that known to have existed on the northern side of the Vicus Pallacinae, and referred to in the account of the great flood of Jan. 6, 856 A.D., preserved in the *Liber Pontificalis* by the biographer of Benedict III,[2] who tells us that the flood '*ascendit per plateas et vicos usque ad clivum argentarii; exinde regammans ingressus est per porticum qui est positus ante ecclesiam Sancti Marci.*' Remains of the *porticus* in question came to light in 1705, when the inscription *C.I.L.* vi. 1099 was discovered. As Hülsen has recently shewn,[3] this part of Rome was the scene of considerable building activity under Domitian, who may perhaps have caused the *porticus* to be erected.

We may therefore regard the entry of Marcus into Rome early in 174 as amply confirmed by the reliefs of the arch; and it receives further confirmation from the true interpretation of the scene X. in which an *allocutio* takes place with an architectural background. The scene has been interpreted by Monaci as an *oratio principis* delivered *in palatio* before his departure from Rome, and by von Domaszewski[4] as an *allocutio* addressed to the praetorians in one of the permanent camps on the Danube. But it is one of the conventions of the artist to confine the use of the architectural

[1] It is found on coins of Trebonianus Gallus (Cohen, 78), Trebonianus Gallus and Volusianus (Cohen, 3 [=Gruber, *Roman Medallions*, Pl. 46, 3], 78), and Volusianus (Cohen, 83).

[2] *Lib. Pont.* ed. Duchesne, ii. 145.

[3] *Röm. Mitth.* 1903, 17 ff..

[4] *Religion des römischen Heeres*, 6 f.

background to events which take place in Rome; where scenes *in castris* are represented, the *tribunal* is held to be a sufficient indication.

The event here depicted balances the *congiarium* which followed the final triumph of the Emperor, and therefore took place after the first return to Rome. Nor can we allow von Domaszewski's interpretation of the figure in a fringed *sagum* standing immediately beneath the *tribunal* to be correct. He believes that we are to see here a friendly prince of barbarian nationality recommended to the troops by the Emperor. A comparison of the coin-types on which such *allocutiones* are represented[1] shews, however, that the same position is regularly occupied by a figure whom we may, I believe, identify as the *trecenarius* or centurion of that picked body of *speculatores*, the *élite* of the guard, who were always in immediate attendance on the Emperor's person. They are represented, as I believe, on the Antonine column[2] surrounding the *tribunal* and wearing a costume identical with that of the figure on our panel. Von Domaszewski may also be right (though this is not so certain) in identifying Mars as their special divinity. His image appears amongst those carried by the *signiferi* together with those of Victoria (common to the guard at large) and Hercules (associated with the *equites singulares*).

If then we are in presence of an *allocutio* addressed to the guard in Rome, the scene must be the Castra Praetoria, and the building which forms the background the *principia*, which occupied the centre of the area. This has never been thoroughly excavated, but remains of the building seem to have come to light both in the sixteenth century and in 1827.[3] Now it is overwhelmingly probable that such an *allocutio* took place at the beginning of the year 174, and that it was an event of some importance. From the time of Hadrian onwards it was customary for the Emperor to dismiss the time-expired praetorians in every other year on or about Jan. 7th,[4] and

[1] The *trecenarius* is thus represented on several coins of Hadrian: Cohen, 236 ff. (COH. PRAETOR.), 554, 560, 563, 565, 588 (*allocutiones* addressed to the armies of Moesia, Dacia, Spain, Noricum, and Syria respectively), and Caracalla: Cohen, 1 (ADLOCUTIO). Most instructive of all is a coin of Trajan (Cohen, 329) representing the submission of Parthamosiris, who faces the Emperor, while the *trecenarius* stands between them.

[2] Scene lxii. Pl. 70 f. The lance was the special weapon of the *speculatores*: cf. Suet. *Galb.* 18, *descendentem speculator impulsu turbae lancea prope vulneravit; Claud.* 35, *neque convivia inire ausus est nisi ut speculatores cum lanceis circumstarent.* [3] Lanciani, F.U.R. II.

[4] '*Quo die imp. Augustus primum imperium orbis terrarum auspicatus est*,' *C.I.L.* xii. 4333 (Ara Narbonensis), cp. *C.I.L.* i.^{2} p. 383. See *Eph. Epigr.* iv. 317 ff. (Bormann). The *allocutio* was not necessarily delivered on this day, *e.g.* in *C.I.L.* ix. 2995 = Dipl. xlvii. we have a case dated May 6 in some year previous to the death of Verus.

to deliver an *allocutio*. In 166 and 170, owing to the grave danger of the situation, no dismissal of praetorians seems to have taken place. In 168, however, at the ceremony which took place *in castris* (*i.e.* in Rome) on Jan. 6th, Marcus delivered a speech in which he conferred privileges in the matter of inheritance on time-expired praetorians.[1] It is therefore quite natural to suppose that such a ceremony took place on the return of the Emperor to Rome in 174, and the relief with which we are dealing furnishes, as I believe, direct evidence of the fact.

Just as the *allocutio* which we have identified followed the *bellum Germanicum*, so we may interpret the *congiarium* (panel No. XI.) as that which was distributed after the final triumph of the Emperor in 176. We have an allusion to this in Dio lxxi. 32 (=Petr. Patr. *Exc. Vat.* 121), who tells the story that the *plebs* interrupted the Emperor's *contio* with shouts of '*octo*,' in allusion to the years of Marcus' absence from Rome, and were rewarded by the distribution of eight *aurei* to each individual. The story has in fact been used as an argument against the historical character of the *Adventus Augusti* of 174, but need not be unduly pressed, as eight years of continuous warfare had in fact elapsed since the departure of Marcus for the Danube in 169. It is impossible to determine with certainty the building in which the distribution takes place; Rostowzew[2] thinks it clear that in the background is shewn the Porticus Minucia 'with several offices'; he supports his contention by reference to a *tessera* with the legend *Minucia* on the reverse.[3] I am unable, however, to see that a number of offices are in any way distinguished in the relief, and consider it at least equally probable that the Basilica Ulpia is represented; it is known that Commodus distributed a *congiarium* while still wearing the *toga praetexta*, *i.e.* before May 19, 175,[4] and presided in person in the Basilica Ulpia, and it is quite likely that the distribution in the following year was made in the same place.

No serious difficulty is presented by the two panels (VI., VII.) in the Palazzo dei Conservatori representing the triumphal car of Marcus at the entrance to the Capitol and the sacrifice before the temple of Jupiter

[1] A fragment of the *oratio divi Marci* is preserved in the *Fragmenta Vaticana* (ed. Bethmann-Hollweg), § 195.

[2] Pauly-Wissowa, iv. 879.

[3] Garrucci, *Piombi Altieri*, iii. 1.

[4] Commodus left Rome on May 19 for Germany, and assumed the *toga virilis* on July 7. The *congiarium* is doubtless that commemorated by coins of 175 with *Lib(eralitas) I.* (Cohen, 291–294).

Capitolinus. Until these have been carefully cleaned and minutely examined their details—especially as regards restoration—cannot be adequately discussed. For our present purpose it is sufficient to observe that the parallelism between these panels and those which represent the *Adventus Augusti* of 174 is unmistakable. In the first scene the floating Victory appears in both cases and the Emperor approaches an arch—in the first case, as was shewn, that of Domitian, in the second doubtless an arch which spanned the Clivus Capitolinus at its highest point—while the temple of Fortuna Redux on the one panel corresponds with a tetrastyle building perhaps to be identified with the temple of Jupiter Custos on the other. In the second scene there is only a general correspondence between the group of *equites singulares* with their *vexilla*, together with the personified Via Flaminia, and the sacrificial group in the panel of the Palazzo dei Conservatori; but on the other hand there is an exact parallelism between the left-hand group, comprising the figures of the Emperor, his elderly companion, the ideal bearded figure who, to judge by analogy, must represent the Senate, and another bearded figure of the same ideal type, who may perhaps be a representative of the *ordo equester*.

I have hitherto refrained from assigning a name to the figure who is in every scene found in immediate attendance on the Emperor's person. It is assumed by Petersen, von Domaszewski, and others that the artist intended to represent Claudius Pompeianus, the Emperor's son-in-law, who became the husband of Lucilla in 169. It is, however, far from certain that Pompeianus accompanied the Emperor throughout the *bellum Germanicum et Sarmaticum*. He was, it is true, *legatus Pannoniae superioris* in 167,[1] and had to bear the brunt of the fighting before Marcus himself took the field.[2] Moreover, he recognized the merit of Pertinax, promoted him to the command of a *vexillatio* and made him secure in the favour of the Emperor,[3] and the numerous offices held by Pertinax[4] between the Parthian war and these events make it unlikely that they took place at the very outset. Finally, he was with the Emperor at the time of his death.[5] But it is in the last degree improbable that Marcus, who hastened on the marriage of Pompeianus with Lucilla before setting out for the seat of war

[1] *C.I.L.* iii. Dipl. xlvi.

[2] Dio, lxxi. 3, who is surely anticipating events in coupling the name of Pertinax with that Pompeianus.

[3] *Vita Pert.* 2, 4. [4] *Vita Pert. l.c.* [5] Herodian. i. 6, 4.

in 169, was accompanied on the march by his newly-married son-in-law. Pompeianus was clearly destined to remain in Rome as the Emperor's representative. Moreover, in 173 Pompeianus was *consul ordinarius*, and though doubtless he might have remained absent from Rome as *consul suffectus*, this would have been impossible for the consul whose duties commenced on Jan. 1 with functions which necessitated his presence in Rome. I do not, therefore, believe that Pompeianus is here represented, but rather that we are to see in the Emperor's constant attendant the only person to whom that position properly belonged, viz., the *praefectus praetorio*, in this case M. Bassaeus Rufus, a well-known figure at the court of Marcus, of whom various anecdotes are told by Cassius Dio.[1] Bassaeus was a *parvenu* whose lack of early education often made itself painfully evident. From his *cursus honorum*, preserved in the inscription set up in his honour by Marcus and Commodus,[2] it appears that he worked his way upwards from the centurionate through provincial procuratorships to the great prefectures; his promotion from the *praefectura Aegypti* to the *praefectura praetorii* took place after Aug. 29, 168, as is shewn by papyri recently discovered,[3] and on the death of Macrinius Vindex in 172 he became sole prefect. The inscription referred to above shews that he received the highest military distinctions which it was in the Emperor's power to bestow, together with the *consularia ornamenta*, and was honoured with a *statua armata* in the Forum of Trajan, a *statua civili amictu* in the temple of Antoninus Pius, and a *statua loricata* in the temple of Mars Ultor.[4] We know that he was with Marcus at Sirmium in 175, from the account of the trial of Herodes Atticus given by Philostratus;[5] nor can it be doubted that he was in constant attendance on the Emperor's person. Nothing is commoner in coin-types than the representation of the *praefectus praetorio* standing immediately behind the Emperor, in the place occupied by the bearded figure of our reliefs,[6] on the occasion of *adlocutiones*, *congiaria*, or other ceremonies. The fact that Claudius Pompeianus was advanced in

[1] lxxi. 5 (iii. p. 256, Boissevain).

[2] *C.I.L.* vi. 1599.

[3] B.G.U. 902 f. See *Festschrift für Otto Hirschfeld*, pp. 123 ff.

[4] The number of statues exceeds that of those granted to Vitrasius Pollio, a connexion by marriage of the Emperor, who was also highly distinguished in these campaigns (*C.I.L.* vi. 1540).

[5] *Vit. Soph.* ii. 11, p. 68 K.

[6] A few examples from Cohen will suffice: Galba, 1 ff.; Trajan, 324–329; Hadrian, 236 ff., 565, 910, 930; Antoninus Pius, 149, 489 f., 501, 531; Marcus, 1 f., 75, 409, 427; Verus, 1 f.; Commodus, 293 ff.; Caracalla, 1, 127; Septimius Severus, 300.

years[1] forms no conclusive argument in favour of the identification proposed by Petersen ; the length of Bassaeus' career makes it more than likely that he too was of more than middle age, while the features of the Emperor's companion exactly suit the rough soldier of humble origin and do not in my opinion betoken the Eastern origin of Claudius Pompeianus.[2] The two companions of Trajan constantly represented on his column have been identified with Claudius Livianus, *praefectus praetorio*, and Licinius Sura, Trajan's chief staff-officer ; but where one officer alone is represented, it can hardly be doubted that the *praefectus praetorio* is intended.

This leads me to mention a further point in which historical deductions from our reliefs are, I believe, admissible. Von Domaszewski has based an ingenious argument on the fact that on the Antonine column only praetorian *signa* are represented. It runs as follows : 'The column shews us how the field force was composed. Only the guard, which did not belong to the frontier army, was assembled in its entirety at the seat of war. Its *signa* are therefore always in evidence. On the other hand, all the other troops invariably fight under *vexilla ;* eagles and manipular *signa* never appear. The army therefore consisted of *vexillationes*. . . . . It is therefore no accident that all the officers known to us as *comites* of the Emperor are *praefecti praetorio* and *praepositi vexillationibus*, even an official *ab epistulis Latinis*,[3] while the normal commands for general officers, the *legati pro praetore* and *legati legionis*, are entirely wanting.'[4] Von Domaszewski's statements are indeed open to criticisms of detail. Pertinax, for example, seems to have been *legatus legionis primae* on the occasion of the miraculous rain. But the whole argument falls to the ground at once when we observe that an eagle and a manipular *signum* are represented beside the praetorian *signum* and *vexilla* on panel No. VIII., while a praetorian *signum* is flanked by two manipular *signa* on No. II. It is therefore unnecessary here to discuss the somewhat difficult question whether the *signa* represented on the column *are* always those of the guards, further than to observe that the presence of the Imperial *imago* is the only certain test, as No. II. shews that under Marcus *coronae* as well as *phalerae* were among the

[1] *grandaevus*, Vita Marci, 20, 6.
[2] *genere Antiochensi*, Vita Marci, *l.c.*
[3] The reference is of course to Tarrutenius Paternus.
[4] *Neue Heidelberger Jahrbücher*, v. (1895), p. 121 ; cf. *Die Marcussäule*, p. 107.

constituents of manipular *signa* ; and I am not sure that in scene ix.[1] the second *signum* does not consist of *coronae* and *phalerae only*.

§ 4.—It has thus been shewn that the eleven panels still extant belong to two series, corresponding with the *bellum Germanicum* and *bellum Sarmaticum* ; and although it is no longer possible to determine with certainty the order in which they were originally placed, it may be regarded as certain that each series adorned one front of the arch from which they were removed. It is also natural to suppose that eight of the reliefs decorated the Attic of the Arch, as they now do that of the arch of Constantine, two being placed on either side of the inscription. Now, it is to be noted that the Emperor faces to the spectator's right in all the scenes where the enemy appear, as well as in those of the *Adventus* and triumph. I therefore suggest that these panels, together with that, now lost, whose existence we were obliged to assume to complete the Sarmatic series, were thus disposed :—

I	II	Inscr.	III	IV
Germ. I	Germ. II		Adv. I	Adv. II

and on the other front

V	lost	Inscr.	VI	VII
Sarm. I	Sarm. II		Triumph I	Triumph II

There remain four other reliefs, two of which (the *lustratio* and *allocutio*) might belong to either series, while of the others (*allocutio in castris praetoriis* and *congiarium*) one follows each war. These latter reliefs I should be disposed to place conjecturally on the *sides* of the attic ; while the *lustratio* and *allocutio* may either have also been distributed between the sides—like the other two scenes, their direction is different—or they may have been duplicated, appearing on both fronts on the pillars of the arch beside the spandrils (or above the side bays if such existed). Their directions may then have been convergent. This must, however, remain a matter of guesswork.[2]

[1] *Die Marcussäule*, Pl. 16A [praetorians to the Emperor's r., legionaries to his l.].

[2] Plates XXIII.–XXVIII. are from photographs by Anderson. Fig. 4 is from a negative by Brogi. Casts of the coins reproduced in Pl. XXIX. 1–4, 6 were kindly furnished by M. de Foville of the Bibliothèque Nationale.

ADDITIONAL NOTE.

The annexed table shews the various forms assumed in the successive recensions of the *Mirabilia* by that portion of the list of *arcus triumphales* which follows the line of the Via Flaminia and Via Lata. The text is given after Urlichs, *Codex Topographicus Urbis Romae.*

DESCRIPTIO PLENARIA TOTIUS URBIS. (Cent. XII.)	GRAPHIA AUREA URBIS ROMAE. (Cent. XIII.)	DE MIRABILIBUS URBIS ROMAE. (Cent. XIV.)	ANONYMUS MAGLIABECCHIANUS. (Cent. XV.)
1. iuxta Sanctum Laurentium in Lucina est arcus triumphalis Octaviani.	1. arcus triumphat. Octaviani iuxta S. Laurentium in Lucina.	1. arcus triumphalis Octaviani ad Sanctum Laurentium in Lucina.	1. arcus tropholi triumphalis . . . . qui est iuxta sanctum Laurentium in Lucina, etc.
2. prope arcus Antonini.	2. —	2. arcus Antonini prope columpnam eius, ubi modo est turris de Tosectis.	2. arcus marmoreus triumphalis qui dicitur de Tosectis . . . . et litterae aliquales de suo epitaphio sunt in eo, sed sine constructione.
3. deinde est arcus ad Sanctum Marcum qui vocatur manus carnea.	3. deinde prope est arcus qui nunc vocatur ad manus carnea ad Scum. Marcum. Tempore quo Diocletianus. etc. [legend follows]	3. arcus ad Sanctum Marcum qui vocatur manus carnea.	3. arcus Diocletiani triumphalis, ubi dicitur Carrili prope Sanctum Marcum. [legend follows]
4. in Capitolio arcus panis aurei.	4. arcus aureus in Capitello.	4. in Capitolio est arcus panis aurei.	4. arcus panis aurei . . . . in Capitolino monte.

The first of the four arches here enumerated is the so-called *Arco di Portogallo*, destroyed in 1662, which need not here concern us. The last is that from which, as is conjectured (see above, p. 252), the panels of the attic of the Arch of Constantine were removed. The position of the third is fixed by the mention of S. Marco. It is the arch which, as I have tried to shew (p. 261), is represented on the coin of Domitian and the panels

Nos. III., IV. It is obvious that the Anonymus Magliabecchianus calls it *Arcus Diocletiani* solely because the mediaeval legend explained the *manus carnea* by reference to an event connected with Diocletian's persecution of the Church.

A somewhat more difficult question arises with regard to the second of the arches mentioned. In considering it, it is necessary to take into account—

(*a*) A passage of Poggio, *De varietate Fortunae* (ap. Urlichs, *op. cit.* p. 239), which runs as follows:

> 'Duo sunt insuper (arcus) Via Flaminia, titulo in altero penitus deleto, in altero corrupto . . . alterius nomen (perpaucae enim litterae superextant, et antiquae caelaturae tabulae quaedam e marmore, quas saepe miror insaniam demolientium effugisse) penitus obsolevit.'

(*b*) The statement of Andrea Fulvio, *Antiquitates Urbis Romae* (1527) iv. p. 60:

> 'Fuerunt et alii arcus sive fornices quorum duo aetate mea diruti sunt, unus iuxta plateam Sciarrae, via quae ducit ad porticum Antonini Pii, cuius adhuc extant ornamenta quaedam marmorea, alter iuxta S. Mariam in Via Lata, ab Innocentio octavo in renovatione proximi templi dirutus, cuius ornamenta marmorea eius nuper vidimus cum trophaeis barbaricis haud dubie posteriorum esse imperatorum ex ornatu apparet.'

Taking all these documents in conjunction, we are, I think, led to the following conclusions:—

(*a*) The two arches which Poggio mentions as existing in his time on the line of the Via Flaminia must be identical with those whose destruction is recorded as taking place, in the one case under Innocent VIII (in 1491, see Infessura [ed. Tommasini], p. 268), in the other in 1662. (The arch mentioned by Fulvio, 'iuxta plateam Sciarrae,' will be one of the arches of the Aqua Virgo between the Piazza Sciarra and S. Ignazio.)

(*b*) The arch destroyed by Innocent VIII is generally, and probably rightly, identified with the *arcus novus* mentioned by the *Notitia* and *Curiosum* in the VIIth region (Via Lata) and ascribed to Diocletian by the chronologist of A.D. 354 (Mommsen, *Chronica Minora*, i. 144).

(*c*) The so-called *Arco di Portogallo* is mentioned in the *Mirabilia*, but the arch near S. Maria in Via Lata is omitted. It was indeed supposed by

the Anonymus Magliabecchianus, who was almost contemporary with Poggio, to be identical with the *arcus qui dicitur de Tosectis*, and he therefore added the statement (confirmed by Poggio) that a few letters of its inscription could still be read. But he was mistaken in supposing that this was the arch *ubi modo est turris de Tosectis*, for S. Maria in Via Lata cannot be described as *prope columnam* (*Antonini*), nor, as it appears, was the residence of the Tosetti in that neighbourhood. The members of this family are always described as *de regione Columnae* in mediaeval documents,[1] and Sig. Tomassetti (whose authority in such a question is of the highest) states that their palace appears to have stood at the S.W. corner of the Piazza Colonna at the beginning of the Via de' Bergamaschi. In that case the *arcus de Tosectis* must have been a monumental archway at the S.W. corner of the *porticus* which surrounded the column of M. Aurelius, spanning the street which led thence in the direction of the Pantheon, and it is at least doubtful if it should be described as a triumphal arch.

It should be noted that the relief in Villa Medici (Matz-Duhn, 3525) which Hülsen (*Bull. Comm.* 1895, p. 46, note 1) believes to have come from the *arcus Diocletiani* deserves a more minute investigation than it has hitherto received. Hülsen argues from the fact that the inscription VOTIS X ET XX which may be read on the shield represented in the relief appears to be identical with that mentioned by Marliani (*Topographia* [ed. 1534], p. 136): '*prope aedem S. Mariae in Via Lata nunc multa eruuntur marmora, in quibus trophaea triumphalesque imagines vidi cum hac inscriptione: votis x et xx, qualem esse in arcu Constantini dictum est supra.*' This is very probably the case, but it must be remembered that the relief as we now see it is a *pasticcio*, and it is difficult to say how much of it is contemporary with the inscription, which may be a mere fragment. Mr. Wace suggests that the *Pallada con due teste* of the Della Valle inventory (Michaelis, *Jahrbuch*, 1891, p. 231, No. 69), which cannot otherwise be accounted for satisfactorily,[2] may have been incorporated in the relief. Certainly none of the figures belong to the period of Diocletian in style, while the fragments of the *arcus Diocletiani* were, according to Fulvio, unmistakably of late date.

[1] *E.g. Cod. Ottob.* 2553, ff. 311–313, which the Rev. H. M. Bannister kindly consulted on my behalf. S. Maria in Via Lata is not in the *regione* of *Colonna*.

[2] Michaelis' proposal to identify it with a relief in the Louvre (Clarac-Reinach, 90, 1) has nothing to recommend it.

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FRAGMENTS OF ROMAN HISTORICAL RELIEFS IN THE LATERAN AND VATICAN MUSEUMS

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FRAGMENTS OF ROMAN HISTORICAL RELIEFS IN THE LATERAN AND VATICAN MUSEUMS.

THE views expressed by Wickhoff[1] upon Roman Art have been widely accepted, as far as concerns monuments whose Roman origin was undoubted. Riegl has approved the 'shadow theory' and explained it in his own peculiar art dialect. Petersen[2] alone has combated it; and with such effect as practically to destroy all belief in this theory, which is Wickhoff's main principle in the appreciation of Roman reliefs, especially those of the Flavian period. Since the relief fragments to be discussed in this paper are attributed to the Flavian period, it is necessary to state Wickhoff's views, and their refutation.

Wickhoff remarks[3] that the artist of the *Ara Pacis* who, he considers, broke with Greek tradition and made a new departure in relief style, 'allowed the figures in high relief of the front row [of the procession] to cast their shadows on a back row of figures, which were worked so flat on the ground that they could no longer cast any shadows, but stood like silhouettes against the sky.'....'When the shadows of the front row of figures fell on them and they themselves cast no shadow, the illusion was created that their shadow fell on the earth behind them, and thus the background vanished behind them.' This theory he works out in contrast to the Telephus frieze from Pergamum, whose high relief would cast heavy shadows, and which therefore, he concludes, must have stood under a colonnade. On the other hand he considers the reliefs of the arch of Titus,

[1] I would refer throughout this paper to the following works: Wickhoff, *Roman Art*, especially chapters II. and III.; Riegl, *Spätrömische Kunstindustrie*, chapter II. I desire also to express my hearty thanks to Mr. Stuart Jones: it is hard to say how much this paper owes to his kind help and encouragement.

[2] *Ara Pacis Augustae*, p. 157, 2.

[3] *Op. cit.* pp. 74, 78.

which as regards shadows shew the same treatment as the *Ara Pacis*, to stand in the open air unroofed. Petersen briefly shews that this theory rests on an entire misconception and an incomplete understanding of the monuments. The Telephus frieze according to the latest research stood in the open air. The reliefs of the arch of Titus are covered by a vault, and as they face one another the effect of the sunlight on them is never equal. No one who has seen the arch of Titus can have failed to notice the grotesque shadows the figures in high relief cast over the background and over one another, when the sunlight penetrates below the vault from the east in the morning, and from the west at evening. Again, the *Ara Pacis* was a square building; the processional frieze was on the west and east sides of it. So here also it was physically impossible for the shadows on both sides to have been equal for any length of time. Under these circumstances the shadow theory must be definitely abandoned.

Similarly Petersen shews the incorrectness of Wickhoff's theory that the arch of Titus reliefs 'are worked in the stone style out of blocks, whose original surface, preserved at the upper and lower edges, limits the depth of the relief,' in contrast to the 'clay model' style of the *Ara Pacis*. The frieze of the *Ara Pacis* was worked out of blocks in exactly the same manner as the reliefs of the arch of Titus.

One characteristic attributed by Wickhoff to Flavian art remains true —illusionism. It is no small achievement to point out a marked and peculiar feature in monuments that have long been well known. And of all Wickhoff's book no part better repays a close study than the suggestive chapters in which he examines the illusionism of Flavian art. But it becomes necessary for us to examine in detail the extant monuments of the Flavian and Trajanic period, since the theories that previously held the field have been found wanting.

Amongst Roman historical reliefs the only extant specimens of Flavian art are the two triumphal reliefs in the archway of the arch of Titus. This arch, which was decreed to Titus by the Senate after his Jewish triumph in 71, was not complete at his death, and was finished early in the principate of Domitian. Between this arch and the historical reliefs of the Trajanic period there is a considerable space of time, to which as yet no historical reliefs have been assigned. The space is indeed considerable, since the extant monuments of the Trajanic period date rather from the end than from the beginning of his principate. The battle scenes on the arch of

Constantine, which probably came from Trajan's *forum*, cannot be earlier than 112, and the arch of Beneventum was finished in the last year of Trajan if not in the first of Hadrian. Therefore, with the exception of the frieze of the *Forum Transitorium* and the *plutei* in the forum, which are probably early Trajanic (and these are not exactly great historical reliefs), there are no historical reliefs to illustrate the progress of that art from the death of Titus to the last years of Trajan. This is the more strange when it is remembered that Domitian was very active in building. He not only rebuilt the parts devastated by the fire of Titus, but under him the Temples of Vespasian and Titus, and of the *Gens Flavia*, and the *Porticus Divorum* were erected and the *Forum Transitorium* was begun. Besides, Suetonius especially remarks that he had a passion for erecting triumphal arches. It is strange, considering the building activity of Domitian, that no fragments of any of his many buildings have survived. Dio Cassius indeed says that his arches were destroyed after his death. But Mr. Stuart Jones has shewn that one of his arches was not destroyed.[1] It existed at the time of Marcus Aurelius, since it is shewn on the Aurelian panels on the arch of Constantine ; and it was probably the same arch as that known in the middle ages as the *arcus manus carneae.* Under these circumstances it would be quite reasonable to expect to find in Roman museums fragments of reliefs belonging to the period of Domitian. Such fragments I believe I have found, and by means of them, after proving their Flavian style, I hope to be able to illustrate the above-mentioned gap in our knowledge of the development of Roman historical reliefs.

In the first place it will be necessary to examine somewhat closely some of the stylistic and technical details of the arch of Titus and that at Beneventum, with the object of pointing out the differences between them.

In the arch of Titus[2] it is to be first remarked that the blocks out of which the relief is worked join vertically and also horizontally just above the ankles of the figures. The general impression produced by the reliefs on the spectator is that of two views of two different parts of a procession seen in an ideal or imaginary frame. The qualities of 'Respiration' and space composition which Wickhoff observes in these reliefs are produced by the open ground above the figures. However, as Riegl has pointed out,

[1] v. page 261.

[2] Wickhoff, *op. cit.* Figs. 29, 30.

this open ground is introduced by the artist not of his own free will, but from necessity. He was obliged to represent Titus in the triumphal car and the spoils of the temple above the heads of the procession as they actually appeared. This obviously necessitated an open ground above the figures ; on the one relief it is well occupied, apart from the spoils, by the *tituli* borne by *camilli*. On the other relief it is occupied, apart from the figure of Titus crowned by Victoria, only by the *fasces* of the lictors ; but this comparative emptiness of the rest of the ground only serves to attract more attention to the figure of the triumphing Emperor. To turn to details, however. In the triumphal car scene it is to be observed that one lictor, the first on the left, wears a full, rather close-cut beard ; several of the lictors, too, have short whiskers. Their heads are all on the same scale (·12–·14 m. high). The bar above the eyes is well marked on all. The modelling of their faces is somewhat exaggerated in the heads in low relief : but they are all fresh, clear-cut, and lifelike ; there is no unnatural hardness or dryness in the rendering. The naturalism of these heads can be compared to the best Flavian portraits. The composition itself is well balanced and not crowded. The only fault to be noticed consists in the relative positions of the horses and the triumphal car : this has been rightly commented on by Wickhoff as a fault of perspective. The horses appear obliquely, one overlapping the other, as though viewed from their left front. In direct contrast to them, the car appears behind on their right flank. In justice to the artist, it must be admitted that the subject of the four horses and the car is exceedingly difficult to handle. In the procession as actually seen the horses should appear directly behind one another, and the car should be in the front line and on the same plane as the horses. This would have been an ugly composition, and therefore, while we must recognize at once the fault of the artist and the difficulty of his subject, we must also praise the excellence of the composition. The monotony of the procession is well broken by the two lictors, who turn round and look backwards ; by the attitude of Roma, who looks back at the Emperor she guides, and of the three figures in the front line, that turn towards the spectator. In the actual workmanship the use of the drill is very noticeable. In the drapery and the reins of the horses the running drill is freely used. The drill is also used in the wreaths of the lictors and in the olive-branch held by the booted man in front of Roma ; and it has been used in the decoration of the car and the wings of Victoria.

Occasional traces of it are to be seen in the hair of the bearded man, and on some of the other heads.

In the scene of the spoils of the temple the monotony of the procession is again well broken. By the table of shewbread, as noticed by Wickhoff, one of the figures halts and turns round to look back. Just behind the golden candlestick a figure in a toga is introduced, wearing a curious arrangement of straps round the upper part of his body; he must be some important official, since his presence reduces the number of porters at the hind part of the *ferculum* of the candlestick to three instead of the usual four. And finally, the last figure of all is practically facing the spectator. The faces and heads of the porters are more damaged than those of the lictors on the other scene, but shew the same general treatment. In making the heads of the *camilli*, who carry the *tituli*—and that they are *camilli* is clear from their long hair and effeminate appearance (similar *camilli* occur on the arch of Beneventum)—appear above the rest of the heads, we have the first trace of what later became a convention in Roman reliefs. This consists in making the heads of the figures that stand behind appear above those in front, and so on. This practice of placing rows of heads one above the other first became fully developed, as it seems, in the Trajanic period. The drill is used as freely in this scene as in the other: it appears in the drapery, in the wreaths, in the hair especially of the central *camillus*, in the ornamentation of the candlestick and of the arched gateway. This arched gateway Wickhoff imagines was continued on the ground in paint; this is impossible, since the *titulus* stands in the way. Riegl rightly points out that it is the ancient artist's conventional way of rendering a perspective effect that a modern artist would do by foreshortening. Also, had the artist placed the arch at right angles to the procession, as it would actually appear, the result would have been hideous. Finally, as regards the general style of both scenes, it may be remarked that the variations from high relief to medium and low relief and *vice versa* are excellently combined. Also the clear cutting and somewhat exaggerated modelling of individual features of the figures in very low relief makes them appear as though almost in medium relief. Most noticeable is the modelling of the eye. In shape it is usually long and narrow, but in the low-relief heads, which are unfortunately the only ones well preserved, it is, as a rule, somewhat shorter, and rather deep at the corners. This throws out the eyeball, and assists, in conjunction with the modelling of the face

just mentioned, in making the head stand out as though in much higher relief.

Turning now to the historical reliefs of the Trajanic period, none of which are, as said above, earlier than 110 A.D., that is to say, about thirty years later than the arch of Titus, we find at once considerable differences in style and execution. In the Dacian battle scenes on the arch of Constantine the composition is wild, tumultuous, and dramatic.[1] The figures are crowded close together. Above we see two and sometimes three rows of heads one over the other—the beginning of this we noticed on the arch of Titus—and below a forest of legs which do not by any means correspond to the heads above. Again, the frieze, instead of showing one scene, is broken up into groups and incidents which cannot be contemporaneous: it is the beginning of Wickhoff's 'continuous' style. In the actual modelling of the figures, especially their faces and other nude parts, there is a hard, dry rendering. This is characteristic of Trajanic portraits also. The fresh, clear naturalism of the Flavian school has gone. In its place we have a hard, rather wooden sharpness of treatment; and there is far less feeling for texture. The handling is not so sympathetic and individual, but depends rather on a fixed type. The continuous style is also employed on Trajan's column: the scenes are all represented by groups. Further, we observe in many cases three rows of heads one above the other.[2] In both these monuments the use of the drill is very noticeable. It is clearly to be seen in the drapery, in its folds and fringes. It is used for working the thicker parts of the hair, especially on the Dacians. Its use is also plain for rendering ornamentation on armour, boots, helmets and the like. Lastly, all foliage is very much undercut by the drill, so much so that in some cases it may be said to be entirely drill-worked. We have noted the use of the drill on the arch of Titus, but it is not by any means so great as in these Trajanic reliefs.

Further, we find all the same elements of execution and composition repeated and developed in the latest Trajanic monument, the arch at Beneventum.[3] The crowded composition, the group treatment, and the free use of the drill are obvious in the two scenes on either side of the archway. In the reliefs on the piers of both faces of the arch and of the attica the group

[1] Wickhoff, *op. cit.*, Fig. A.
[2] v. Cichorius, *Trajansäule*, Plates XI, XVII, XVIII, XXXIII, LXI, LXII, LXXVII.
[3] Wickhoff, *op. cit.*, Figs. 35–40.

composition is even more striking. It has become, in fact, almost a panel treatment, such as we see fully developed under Hadrian and the Antonine emperors. The grouping of the Emperor with ideal personifications can be exactly paralleled by some of the Aurelian panels on the arch of Constantine (Pls. XXIV, XXVI), and by a panel probably of the time of Antoninus Pius in the Palazzo dei Conservatori.[1] The free use of the drill is again obvious. The close, crowded arrangement of figures is unmistakable.

There are some cases of one row of heads appearing above another, but they are not frequent. It may be that this is due to the fact that the artist was obliged by exigencies of space to make the panels less tall. However, if we examine the Hadrianic panels in the Palazzo dei Conservatori[2] and the Antonine and Aurelian panels already referred to, it will be seen that there is never more than one row of heads. Therefore we must assume that this convention of two or more rows of heads reached its height under Trajan, was dying out at the end of his principate, and became extinct under his successors, probably because, though it suited the group treatment, it did not suit the panel treatment. Since then we find it beginning on the arch of Titus; we must therefore assign all specimens of it either to Domitian or Trajan. The last and greatest difference of all is that, while on the arch of Titus the eye is always shewn in profile, on the Trajanic reliefs it is often rendered *en face*.

Thus, I hope, the gap in our knowledge of the development of Roman historical reliefs is made clear as much from the artistic as from the chronological standpoint. It is now necessary to describe and discuss the fragments already mentioned, by which I propose to illustrate in part the development of such reliefs in this period. These fragments are as follows:—

1. Vatican, Museo Chiaramonti, 152; Amelung, *Cat. d. Vat. Museums*, i. p. 409, pl. 43. Height, ·63; length, ·98. This is a fragment of a triumphal relief representing part of a procession proceeding to the right. It shews the bodies and lower part of the faces of two male figures in low relief to the right: both hold with their left hands the horizontal pole of a *ferculum* resting on small cushions on their left shoulders. The body of the *ferculum* itself is visible behind the left-hand figure. With their

[1] Helbig², 562. [2] Helbig², 564, 565.

right hand they hold staves with peculiar crescent-shaped handles exactly similar to those carried by the porters of the *fercula* on the arch of Titus The left-hand figure wears a short, curly beard. Before these two figures in low relief are obvious traces of two similar figures in front of them in high relief, but now broken away. Apart from the broken surface, the existence of these two others is proved by the other horizontal pole of the *ferculum;* its line is clearly traceable from the left to the right, where its end coincides with a broken support, against which, no doubt, rested the left hand of the foremost porter. All remains of the drapery of the two broken figures exactly agree with this. This relief, then, would correspond to the four porters carrying the front end of the *ferculum*, on which is the table of shewbread, of the arch of Titus. The resemblance between the two is indeed striking. In both reliefs the deep folds of the drapery are drill-cut ; in both the rendering of the hands clasped round the pole is the same ; in both also there is a blank space below the body of the *ferculum.* The likeness between the two is so strong that it is possible to believe that the Chiaramonti fragment is part of another representation of the same subject. In that case it would possibly have come from the arch of Vespasian and Titus. This arch was dedicated in 81 A.D. by the senate in honour of the Jewish triumph, and stood at the end of the Circus Maximus towards the Celian. It appears from a fragment of the *forma urbis* to have had three archways. It existed at least till the thirteenth century, and the *Anonymus Einsiedlensis* has preserved us its inscription.[1]

2. Vatican, Cortile del Belvedere, 88 ; Helbig[2], 163 ; Pistolesi, iv. pl. 102 ; Braun, p. 308, No. 53 ; *Beschreibung d. Stadt Rom.* ii. 2, p. 155. Height of original, ·95 ; length, 1·10 ; relief height, ·16 ; height of faces, ·13 (Fig. 1). The relief has been much restored as follows : a vertical strip on the right, including two lictors and the second horse ; the whole lower part, including all the feet and legs from the knees downwards ; the heads of the two men in high relief on the left, the noses of the two horses on the left, and the nose and mouth of the lictor above them ; the head, breast, forearms, and small fragments on the drapery of Roma ; the greater part of the *vexillum*, and its staff. But her back hair and the lower part of the crest of the helmet are original.

[1] Richter, *Topogr. d. Stadt Rom.* p. 177.

This relief clearly shews part of a triumphal procession, since all the figures wear laurel wreaths. First on the left we have a male figure clad in an ordinary sleeve tunic turned half round to the right; he is clearly looking back at the procession behind him. Above him appears a male figure in profile to the left carrying a *hasta*; both these figures are in high

FIG. 1.

relief. Next is a lictor's head in low relief; also to the left, following him, in high relief are two horses ridden by two men whose heads appear in very low relief just in front of the *vexillum*. All these are in profile to the left. Next is Roma clad in a *chiton* with a *diplois*, both girt in together

just below the breasts; over it she wears a cloak fastened on her right shoulder. She advances to the left, but looks back to the right at the Emperor, whose triumph she is guiding; in her left hand she holds a *vexillum*. Following her are three more lictors' heads in medium or very low relief, all facing to the left. Then comes the head and neck of a horse, which, to judge by the collar, is clearly the first of the horses of the *quadriga* carrying the victorious Emperor. Here the relief breaks off. Two points, however, are clear. The relief extended no further either to the left or above the heads of the figures, because on both these sides there are clear traces of an edge curving sharply outwards. It, however, extended further to the right. And assuming that the other three horses and the car occupied the same amount of space as in the similar scene of the arch of Titus, this relief must in its original state have formed part of a composition as large as that. Therefore it in all probability decorated one side of the archway of a similar monument.

In composition its resemblance to the arch of Titus is very striking. In both we have at the head of the procession a figure that looks back; in both there is a Roma guiding the triumphal car of the Emperor; in both the lictors occupy the background. In the Belvedere relief there are however several important developments. The figures are more crowded together owing to the introduction of the two riders. The heads are arranged in two rows one above the other instead of all being on the same level; the beginning of this, however, I have already remarked in the other scene of the arch of Titus. Also as regards the heads of the riders and of the lictors the principle of isocephaly is observed.

And since there is no open space above the figures, the same principle must have been observed in the representation of the Emperor in the triumphal car. One or two other technical points deserve notice. The hair in its long, stiffly curling strands is rendered in the same manner as on the arch of Titus. Similarly also the modelling of the bar on the foreheads is very marked; but in addition in the Belvedere fragment there is more exaggeration in the modelling of the faces, the rendering is less free and natural, and rather harder and more dry. In other words, there is less feeling for texture. The drill is freely used for the drapery, on the horses' heads, and in the lictors' wreaths. From its general style, then, it would not be unreasonable to assume that the Belvedere fragment is somewhat later than the arch of Titus. It is also

considerably earlier than the arch of Beneventum. For, though we have here the two rows of heads and a crowded composition—for instance, owing to this, the hind quarters of the two ridden horses are not seen—it still shews the processional rather than the group composition so typical of Trajanic art as in the arch of Beneventum and the battle frieze on the arch of Constantine. However, in the rendering of the faces the Belvedere fragment shews some of the characteristic rendering of Trajanic portraits. The eyes are purely Flavian: they are long and narrow in shape, and in profile. When the head is in very low relief the eye is somewhat shorter and deeper cut at the corners to make the eyeball project a little.

3. Fragments in the Lateran Museum.

A. [Pl. XXX, Fig. 1.] Museum number, 515; Benndorf-Schoene, 266. Height, ·39; length, ·33; thickness, ·23.

It shews a beardless male head rather over life-size (height of face ·20), in profile, in high relief to the right. Behind the head on the left is a profiled border, and also the edge on that side is smooth: these facts prove that the relief ended there. On the three other sides there are merely rough breakages. The relief is high (·11 m.), so much so that the head is practically in three-quarter profile. The neck is thick; the cheeks fat and broad, but carefully modelled. The mouth is firm, but droops a little at the corners, and the lips are thin and tight. The chin is strong and hard, and oblong; but the throat is loose and fat. The nose is decidedly aquiline. The eyes are set deep beneath a heavy, overhanging brow. The forehead is high and furrowed. In shape the eyes are long and ellipsoid, the lids and inner corners being very carefully rendered. There is a short whisker before each ear. The hair is long and wavy, and in rather wide strands curving forwards over the brow; the ends are placed irregularly, and where they stand high off the forehead were undercut by the drill. Another technical point deserves mention, that all the lines of the face curve downwards slightly against the background. The face wears an expression of intense determination; and indicates a vigorous man, rather inclined, however, to self-indulgence. The execution is perfect in its free and natural style. All is rendered with a fine feeling for texture and for the delicate modulations of the surface; and as a portrait the head is most real and lifelike.

B. [Pl. XXX, Fig. 2.] Museum number, 502; Benndorf-Schoene, 258. Height, ·31; length, ·41; thickness, ·225. This fragment shews a bearded male head in high relief (·15) in profile to the right. The head is about life-size (height of face ·205). The edge on the left is smooth, but on the other three sides roughly broken. The chin and cheeks are covered by a short beard and whiskers, and the upper lip by a small moustache. The cheeks are high and narrow; the mouth is rather long, and the lips slightly parted. The chin is rather pointed, but firm. The nose is aquiline, but well shaped. The eyes are ellipsoid and have rather projecting lids; the pupil is rendered by a shallow semicircle. The eyebrows are plastically rendered; and the brow overhangs the eyes against the nose, but over their outer corners curves upwards from them, the space between them and the eyelids being filled by a heavy roll of flesh. The forehead is high and recedes a little. The hair, which is rather thin just over the forehead, is somewhat coarse, and in long, sweeping curls that lie flat and in disorder. The rope-like object which hangs over the left shoulder is inexplicable unless it is the fringe of a cloak such as those worn by the *speculatores* and lictors. The four ridges appearing high up on the same shoulder, if they are folds of drapery, must belong to the next person in front; but it seems more probable that they are *fasces*: in that case this person would be a *lictor proximus*, such as appears bearded and with a fringed cloak in close attendance on the Emperor on the arch of Beneventum. There is little character in the head; and though it has a certain air of distinction, it is that of a functionary rather than of an important official.

Here again one or two technical points must be noticed. As in *A*, the left eye and the left corner of the mouth and the other lines of the face curve downwards slightly against the background, which in its turn slopes inwards against the face to throw it out in higher relief. Also in the hair there are slight traces of the drill. Lastly, it remains to note that both this head and *A* are worked very carefully right to the actual point of contact with the background.

As rightly remarked by Benndorf and Schoene, both these heads are of the same marble, and correspond exactly in size, style, and execution. They are both parts of one and the same relief, which in all probability belonged to a triumphal arch or some similar monument. To these two fragments I would add four others also in the Lateran, which shew some of the heads of a procession of lictors. These, though not of the same size,

and somewhat inferior in execution, are nevertheless worked in the same style and marble. A brief description of them follows.

C. [Pl. XXX, Fig. 3.] Museum number, 558; Benndorf-Schoene, 292*d*. Height, ·19; length, ·21; relief height, ·13; height of face, ·12. The thickness of the block cannot be ascertained, since this fragment has broken edges all round except on top where there is a smooth surface to join on to another block above. This fragment shews part of a bald, beardless male head in profile to the left. The cheeks are lean, dry, and wrinkled. The forehead is furrowed, and there are crowsfeet at the corners of the eyes; the eyebrows are rendered. The mouth is small and pinched together. The eyes are long and narrow, the upper lid being especially prominent. The hair is in tight, claw-shaped locks, roughly blocked out.

D. [Pl. XXX, Fig. 4.] Museum number, 545. Benndorf-Schoene, 292*b*. Length, ·30; height, ·32; relief height, ·10; thickness of block, ·16; height of faces, ·12. The surfaces at the top, the back, and on the left are smooth: there is a dowel hole at the left end of the upper surface. These facts obviously prove that the block to which this fragment belonged joined on to others on which the relief was continued. Also the two heads are cut off flat with the edge and so clearly continued on the next block above. On this fragment we see on the right a beardless male head in profile to the right, on the left half a similar head *en face*; between and below these was another head in high relief. The eyes are narrow and ellipsoid, with strongly marked upper lids. The hair is rendered as in the last fragment, but somewhat more loosely. The eyebrows are not rendered; but the foreheads are furrowed, and there is in each head a bar above the eyes. The head that is broken off in front was probably female, to judge by the knob of hair behind it on the left and the traces of its having been worked with the drill. It looked to the right, and probably was a Roma or Victoria leading the way for the Emperor. If, as in the case of the Roma on the arch of Titus, she looked back at him, we can at once decide that the whole procession was moving to the left. This seems to shew that here we have traces of two rows of heads one above the other.

E. [Pl. XXX, Fig. 5.] Museum number, 549; Benndorf-Schoene, 292*c*. Length ·31; height, ·245; relief height, ·085; thickness, ·13; height of faces, ·12. The edges on top, at the back, and on the right are smooth, and at the right-hand end of the top surface is a dowel hole. So as regards

this block also the relief extended itself further to the right and above. The heads too are cut off above as in *D*. This fragment shews two beardless male heads. That on the right is in three-quarter profile to the right. The neck and part of the shoulders are also preserved : the man carries the *fasces* on his shoulder, and so is a lictor. His chin is prominent and dimpled ; his mouth is small and pouts. The forehead is wrinkled with a marked bar. The left eye is flat, long and narrow ; the right eye projects and is small and oval in shape, and deep set, whereas the other is shallow. This is clearly a trick of the relief technique to make the eye on which the light fell appear the same as that in the shadow against the ground. Similarly the sinking above the collar-bone is rather deeply cut to disguise the flattening of the shoulder against the ground. The head on the left is also that of a lictor, since the figure to which it belongs also carries *fasces* on the left shoulder. The head is practically *en face*, but is turned slightly to the left. There are short whiskers on the cheeks ; and the forehead is furrowed and has a marked bar. The left eye is rather long and narrow and deep set against the nose ; the right eye is short and ellipsoid, and the brow curves down heavily over its outer corner. This peculiar treatment of the eyes was clearly done for the same purpose as already remarked in the other head. In both the hair is rendered as on the other fragments.

F. (Fig. 2). Museum number, 544 ; Benndorf-Schoene, 292*a*. Length, ·45 ; height, ·23 ; thickness, ·195 ; relief height, ·09 ; height of face, ·12. The surface at the back and the top edge are smooth, and the head is cut off flat above, so the relief continued. The other edges are roughly broken. On the right we see the neck and shoulders of a lictor turned to the left, and on the left the head and shoulders of another carrying the *fasces* on his left shoulder. In the hair, which is rendered as in the other fragments, are faint traces of colour. The face has been worked over in modern times, in an attempt to clean the fragment, and therefore no remarks can be made on its style. In the neck of the lictor on the right we may observe that the artist has exaggerated the recesses between the bones and sinews of the neck to deepen the shadows and make what is really low relief appear to be in high relief.

In style these fragments shew a very close relationship to the work of the arch of Titus. That there was an open space above the heads of the

figures here also is proved by the existence of another block above. The horizontal junction of the slabs above the heads of the figures is to be compared to the arch of Titus where the slabs join just above the ankles. The treatment of the drapery and the use of the drill are similar in both. In the high-relief heads of the Lateran fragments we find a very elaborate treatment of the eye, which is not present in the existing low-relief heads of the arch of Titus, but which probably was paralleled by the now destroyed high-relief heads of that monument.

FIG. 2.

There can be little doubt, I think, that these six fragments are the remains of relief decoration of a triumphal arch or some similar historical monument. The lictors (*D*, *E*, *F*) certainly formed part of the procession escorting the Emperor. It cannot, however, have been a triumph, or the lictors would have been wreathed with laurel as on the arch of Titus. Also, although the Roma (*D*) seems to be turned to the right, yet the majority of the lictors (we have six out of twelve) are turned to the right, and for that reason it seems more probable that the procession was moving

to the right. No two of the fragments fit together, and their provenance is totally unknown, so that it is quite possible that in these fragments we have portions of two processions from the same monument. The relation of the bald-headed man (*C*) to the rest of the procession is by no means clear. The two large heads (*A*, *B*), to judge by the carefulness of the work, seem to have belonged to a group immediately surrounding the Emperor. They probably from their size did not belong to a procession, but to a large group such as is seen on the arch of Domitian, on his coins, and on the arch of Trajan at Beneventum. The bearded man (*B*) is probably a *speculator* or *lictor proximus*; his low rank would explain why he is bearded, and his duty would require his close attendance on the Emperor. The unbearded man (*A*) is without doubt some person of distinction, probably one of the *amici caesaris*. Apparently also he is the same courtier who appears as the Emperor's companion in some of the round medallions on the arch of Constantine. He is clearly recognizable in the scene of the lion hunt; and perhaps too in the bear hunt: also he bears some resemblance to the Emperor's companion present at the sacrifices to Apollo and Heracles, but cannot be identified with him (Pls. XXI–XXII). He does not however appear on the arch of Trajan at Beneventum. He cannot therefore have been one of the *comites* of Trajan during the latter part of his reign. Another point to remark is that on the medallions he seems to be older than on the Lateran fragment. It will be clear that if this portrait could by comparison with undoubted Flavian portraits be shewn to be also of that period, we should have further evidence for the Flavian date I propose for these fragments. Crowfoot has collected several Flavian portraits and pointed out the characteristics of their style.[1] A list of them will be convenient.

(1) Florence; Uffizi, 319. Amelung, *Führer*, 144.

(2) Florence; Uffizi, 321. Amelung, *op. cit.* 149; eyes rendered; close-cut beard.

(3) Rome; Pal. dei Conservatori, monument of C. Julius Helius. Helbig^2, 605.

(4) Unpublished; found in 1887 in the Vico Trionfale: where now?

(5) Copenhagen; Jacobsen collection, 493.

[1] *J.H.S.* 1900, p. 31, Pls. I., II., III.

(6) Vatican; Braccio Nuovo, 97*a*; eyes rendered.
(7) Lateran, 675. Female portrait from Haterii monument.[1]
(8) Lateran, 677. Male portrait from Haterii monument.[2]

To these I would add the following additional portraits:—

(9) Vatican, Sala dei Busti, 360; eyes rendered.
(10) Vatican, Sala dei Busti, 350; eyes rendered.
(11) Vatican, Mus. Chiaramonti, 35.
(12) „ „ 54; eyes rendered.
(13) „ „ 60.
(14) „ „ 253; Titus.
(15) „ „ 560; close-cut beard.
(16) „ „ 722; eyes rendered.
(17) „ Braccio Nuovo, 26; Titus.
(18) „ „ 69.
(19) „ „ 129.
(20) Capitol, Sala delle Colombe, 5; Flavius Eucarpus.
(21) „ „ 108.
(22) „ Sala degli Imperatori, 6; eyes rendered.
(23) Rome, Magazzino Archeologico (fourth room, in corner); Titus.
(24) Rome, Museo delle Terme, Court, B 5; Helbig², 1085; Vespasian.

These are not all the extant Flavian portraits in Rome, but merely the best specimens.

In all these portraits we can clearly see the characteristics of Flavian portraiture according to Crowfoot's analysis. The style is simple and unpretentious: the artist tries to give the illusion of a living, natural man. He seizes and represents a single, momentary expression of his subject, but an expression that is characteristic. This is the peculiarity of Flavian busts; they give a portrait by illusionist methods. A momentary characteristic expression is caught and represented in a living atmosphere. There is no laboured detailed modelling which produces an exact facial

[1] Cf. for hairdress the unbroken Flavian bust in the Capitol, Sala delle Colombe 95, the Flavian group at Chatsworth, Furtwängler, *J.H.S.* 1901, p. 221, Pl. XV, and the silver bust from Boscoreale (from a phiale) in the British Museum, inscribed Antonia, wife of Drusus, mother of Germanicus, and assigned by Héron de Villefosse to the Neronian period, *Mon. Piot.* v. p. 46, Figs. 8, 9.

[2] Benndorf-Schoene, 343, 345; Helbig², 694, 695.

likeness but gives no breath of life to its creations. Flavian portraits are natural and instantaneous, as opposed to artificial studio work. This style, which is determined by an examination of the portraits mentioned, we can at once recognize in the head on the Lateran fragment *A*. It is a living man rendered by a momentary expression which characterizes him perfectly, as I have tried to shew. It is hard to decide which is most wonderful in these Flavian artists, the trained eye that knew when to catch the momentary expression, or the marvellous skill that gave them their living atmosphere. And so there can be no possible doubt that this is a Flavian portrait, and therefore that the other relief fragments connected with it are also Flavian.

Being thus satisfied as to the Flavian date of these fragments, we must now endeavour to arrange them chronologically and illustrate the development of Roman reliefs from them.

We can sum up the above discussed stylistic differences between the arch of Titus and the Trajanic sculptures briefly as follows :—

Arch of Titus.	*Trajanic Reliefs.*
(1) Processional treatment.	(1) Group treatment.
(2) One row (occasionally two rows) of heads.	(2) At least two rows of heads.
(3) Drill used in moderation.	(3) Drill used very freely.
(4) Open composition.	(4) Crowded composition.
(5) Eye in profile.	(5) Eye *en face*.
(6) Fresh, individual naturalism.	(6) Hard, wooden treatment.

The fragments must therefore be arranged to illustrate as nearly as possible the gradual transition from the Flavian to the Trajanic technique. The Chiaramonti fragment which was conjectured to belong to the arch of Vespasian and Titus must be placed first. It would date from the reign of Titus, 79–81 A.D., since the arch was completed and dedicated in his last year. Next must come the reliefs of the arch of Titus, which was dedicated after his death, as shewn by the inscription DIVO TITO, probably in the first or second year of Domitian. The Lateran fragments are so closely allied in style to the arch of Titus that they might even be contemporary. They cannot be at least many years later; and it would

probably be safe to conclude that they are not later than 83 A.D., when Domitian celebrated his victories over the Chatti. A coin dated 85 A.D.[1] shews us a triumphal Janus crowned by two quadrigae, which probably commemorated this campaign (Pl. XXIX, 1). But since the lictors are not wreathed the fragments cannot represent a triumphal procession. Therefore the reliefs probably belonged to another monument set up by Domitian about that time. Lastly comes the Belvedere relief, which almost without doubt belonged to a triumphal arch. I would suggest that it belonged to an arch set up to commemorate the Chattic and Dacian triumph of 89 A.D.[2] On coins dated 90–91 (Pl. XXIX, 3) we see a triumphal Janus decorated with quadrigae on top, and at the sides with statues, and round and oblong reliefs.[3] But, since the relief was probably as long as the reliefs of the arch of Titus, it cannot have belonged to a Janus, but to an ordinary arch. Where this arch stood it is impossible to conjecture, since Domitian set up so many arches. We thus obtain the following dates for the reliefs discussed :—

A.D. 79–81. Chiaramonti fragment.
81–82(?). Arch of Titus.
83. Lateran fragments.
After 89. Belvedere fragment.

They also thus illustrate the changes of style indicated. In the arch of Titus and the Lateran fragments we have open composition and only mere indications of a second row of heads ; but, if the conjecture above proposed is correct, the Lateran fragments give us also the earliest example of the group treatment of the scenes. The Belvedere fragment shews a crowded composition, but still not so crowded as in some Trajanic reliefs. Also in it the heads are placed one above the other, but are not definitely arranged in rows as in the Trajanic reliefs. I think it is allowable to assume so much from these fragments although they are so small. That they are Flavian I have no doubt ; and since they on close examination disclose the stylistic peculiarities and differences already described, they

[1] Cohen², 530.

[2] For this and the other dates of Domitian's reign *v.* Gsell, *Essai sur le règne de Domitien*, pp. 184, 198, 226–228, etc. This relief might also have come from a monument celebrating the end of the Suevic-Sarmatian war in 93 A.D. : *v. supra*, p. 261, cf. a coin dated 95, Cohen², 531 (Pl. XXIX, 2).

[3] Cohen², 672.

may be legitimately used in attempting to trace the development of Flavian art. If we add to these the medallions from the arch of Constantine and their kindred reliefs which, as Mr. Stuart-Jones conjectures, probably belonged to the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*,[1] we have a well-defined and progressive series of Flavian historical reliefs.

[1] v. pp. 229 *seqq.* ; Pls. XXI–XXII.

PAPERS OF THE BRITISH SCHOOL AT ROME

VOL. III. NO. 4

SOME DRAWINGS FROM THE ANTIQUE ATTRIBUTED TO PISANELLO

BY

G. F. HILL, M.A.

LONDON: 1905

SOME DRAWINGS FROM THE ANTIQUE ATTRIBUTED TO PISANELLO.

A CERTAIN number of the drawings ascribed to Pisanello, both in the Recueil Vallardi in the Louvre and elsewhere, are copies, more or less free, of antique originals.[1] The doubts which have been expressed, by Courajod among others, as to the authenticity of some of these drawings are fully justified in the case of those which reproduce ancient coins. Thus we have, on fol. 12. no. 2266 v° of the Recueil Vallardi, a coin with the head of Augustus wearing a radiate crown, inscribed DIVVS AVGVSTVS PATER, and a head of young Heracles in a lion's skin, doubtless taken from a tetradrachm of Alexander the Great. Similar in style and on paper with the same watermark (a triple mount) are four coins: a laureate head of Augustus (?); a radiate head of Augustus; a head of young Heracles in a lion's skin; and a bearded head of Heracles. These have no serious claim to be called the work of Pisanello, and the heads of Severina (Fig. 1) and Aurelian (fol. 97 no. 2591, 98 no. 2592) are equally doubtful. The lettering of the former, however, belongs to the time of Pisanello. Equally coarse in style, and unworthy of the artist, is a head of Hadrian (fol. 99 no. 2593, Fig. 2). As the treatment of the tie of the wreath shows, it is copied from a relief, probably on a coin which was somewhat worn; for the drawing does not show the short curly hair on the forehead characteristic of the Emperor. Finally, we have on a sheet in the His de la Salle collection[2] a head of Faustina the Elder under a gothic arch. The sheet is signed PISANVS HOC OPVS, and is perhaps genuine. If so, it is the only extant instance of a copy of a coin made by Pisanello; and it is significant that it is not treated in a medallic manner. This is one of the facts

[1] I have discussed these drawings briefly in my volume on Pisanello, pp. 20 ff. In the present paper the views there expressed are modified in the sense that some of the drawings previously accepted as Pisanello's I now regard as works of a pupil.

[2] Both de Tauzia, *Notice des Dessins de la Coll. His de la Salle*, no. 81.

which disprove the attempt to show that the first master of the modern medal was inspired by ancient coins.

But if the drawings from ancient coins assigned to him must, with one possible exception, be discredited, there remains an interesting series of

FIG. 1.—HEAD OF SEVERINA.
From the Recueil Vallardi (Louvre).

studies from the antique, mostly made in Rome, which have considerable merit and attraction. In the case of those illustrated here, it is true that it is not possible to attribute them to Pisanello[1] himself; but they at any

[1] Pisanello was in Rome, working at St. John Lateran, in 1431 and 1432. Whether he ever visited it again for any length of time is doubtful.

rate belong to his school and to his time. Thus, as documents for the history of the originals from which they are copied, their value is not lessened by any doubt as to their exact attribution.

FIG. 2.—HEAD OF HADRIAN.
From the Recueil Vallardi (Louvre).

I pass over those of which the originals have been identified, such as the copy at Milan of one of the Dioscuri of the Quirinal. Nor can I illustrate an exquisite drawing, of undoubted authenticity, which is preserved in the

University Galleries at Oxford, and will eventually appear in Mr. Sidney Colvin's publication of the Oxford drawings. On the recto are costume studies ; on the verso, two pen-and-ink sketches of Bacchanals, probably from a sarcophagus. One of them moves to the right, looking back, and playing a tympanum held before her ; the other, also to the right, has her head thrown up and her hands raised above it, playing the same instrument.[1] These, though slight, are in some ways quite the best of Pisanello's studies of the kind.

On the verso of the Berlin sheet 1359[2] (Pl. XXXI., Fig. 1) is the figure of a recumbent river-god holding a decorated cornucopiae. The treatment of the cornucopiae and the attitude in general prove that this is nothing else than the well-known Tiber (Fig. 3) which forms a pendant to the Nile on the Piazza of the Capitol, although I can find no recognition in print of this somewhat obvious fact. Under the right arm of the figure, but evidently not connected with it, is a sketch of a small boy—possibly suggested by an Eros torturing a butterfly—and on the same sheet is a figure of a putto leaning on a knotted staff—probably from an Eros or Hypnos with inverted torch.

The Tiber, as is well known, was once a Tigris,[3] and had under its right arm a tiger, instead of the present wolf and twins. Originally with the Nile on Monte Cavallo, it was transferred to the Capitol between 1513 and 1527 ; and somewhat later, probably between 1565 and 1568, the attribute was altered. The Heemskerck drawing (1533–1536) published by Michaelis shows that the tiger was in fairly good condition, so that its omission on our drawing was not due to any difficulty in making it out, but merely to the selection of the artist.

It will be noticed that in his treatment of the head of the river-god the artist has not been restrained by any desire to reproduce the character of

[1] Compare with the former such figures as are found in Clarac, ii. Pl. CXXVII, no. 421, or in the dal Pozzo drawings in the British Museum (Dept. of Gr. and Rom. Ant.), fol. 57 ; with the latter, dal Pozzo, fol. 58. But the correspondences are not exact.

[2] *Jahrb. d. preuss. Kunstsamml.* ii. p. xxxv. This and the other Berlin drawing to be mentioned presently are probably from the same hand as the two drawings in the British Museum, recently published by Mr. A. M. Hind (*L'Arte* 1905, pp. 210 f.). Apart from general resemblances of style, compare the right hand of the Tiber-statue with those of the standing figure (*L'Arte* 1905, p. 211) and of the St. Anthony (Hill, *Pisanello*, Pl. 43) ; and the hands of the figures in the boar-hunt (Pl. XXXI., Fig. 2) with that of the figure holding an eagle (*L'Arte* 1905, p. 210).

[3] See Michaelis, *Röm. Mitth.* 1891, pp. 26, 33, 61 ; 1898, pp. 254 f. ; cp. Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations*, p. 296.

the antique; subject and pose alone seem to have interested him. The same attitude towards the model is betrayed by two other drawings, one at Berlin (1358, Pl. XXXI., Fig. 2), the other in the Recueil Vallardi (fol. 194, no. 2397. v°, Pl. XXXII.). The latter[1] contains three figures, which have usually been described as a 'mythological subject' or 'allegory after the antique.' As a matter of fact the three figures are borrowed from three

FIG. 3.—THE TIBER-STATUE OF THE CAPITOL.

different works of art; whether they were meant to be regarded as a composition may be doubted. On the right is a Hercules grasping a club in an impossibly ineffective way, which suggests that the original has been misunderstood. And in fact it is taken from an Orestes on a sarcophagus, possibly that which until recently was in the Palazzo Giustiniani, and of

[1] Probably from the same hand as the two Berlin drawings.

which Raphael made use, or else the sarcophagus now in the Cathedral at Husillos near Palencia.[1] The reproduction here given (Fig. 4) from the latter will make this clear. On the original the right arm of Orestes is broken away, so that the copyist was free to restore the figure as Hercules.

FIG. 4.—ORESTES.
From the Sarcophagus at Husillos. (After Robert.)

The middle figure in the sheet is a Venus from the Adonis sarcophagus now at Mantua (Fig. 5).[2] This is known to have been at Rome in the middle of the sixteenth century; our drawing takes its history back another century or more. The third figure is also evidently from the antique, but I have failed to identify the original. The Berlin drawing (Pl. XXXI., Fig. 2) has been described as a copy from a sarcophagus in the Campo Santo at Pisa.[3] There are, however, important differences between the two; and Prof. Robert, to whom I submitted my doubts, points out that the original is much more probably to be found in the same Adonis sarcophagus as supplied the Venus. The group is reproduced for comparison from the *Pighianus* (Fig. 5). 'There are, it is true, divergences; out of the two mutilated huntsmen behind the boar he has made a single figure, and he has turned the attacking dog in the opposite direction; but still the agreement, especially with the drawing of the *Pighianus*, which is without the restorations, is so great, that the

[1] C. Robert, *Sarkophagreliefs*, vol. ii. nos. 156, 157, Pl. LV.
[2] Robert, vol. iii. no. 20, Pl. V. [3] Lasinio, Pl. 109.

identity appears to me to be assured.' The drawing, having been assigned to Pisanello himself, has been regarded as additional evidence of his connexion with Pisa. But that connexion is very doubtful. Vasari's statement that he worked and died there, made in the first edition of the

FIG. 5.—ADONIS SARCOPHAGUS AT MANTUA.
From the Pighianus. (After Robert.)

'Lives,' is omitted in the second, and the other evidence in the same direction will not bear examination.[1] Now we see that even if the Berlin drawing were by Pisanello, it would be no evidence in favour of his having worked at Pisa. In any case the history of this sarcophagus also is taken back to the first half of the fifteenth century.

[1] Hill, *Pisanello*, p. 5.

PAPERS OF THE BRITISH SCHOOL AT ROME

VOL. III. NO. 5

A PORTRAIT OF PYTHAGORAS

BY

KATHARINE A. McDOWALL

LONDON: 1905

X

A PORTRAIT OF PYTHAGORAS.

THE fairly numerous ideal portraits of Homer and the Sages which have come down to us, and the yet more numerous headless herms whose inscriptions bear witness to the frequency of such works in antiquity, naturally suggest that others may exist in our museums representing the more famous rulers and philosophers of the sixth century, among whom the most interesting and important is Pythagoras. From the Renaissance onwards, archæologists have been on the alert to discover a portrait with some claim to represent him, and no less than seven identifications have been at various times proposed.[1] None, however, has found anything like universal acceptance, in spite of the fact that the numismatic evidence is fuller and more trustworthy than usual. A series of Samian coins show the philosopher either seated or standing before a celestial globe set on a pillar.[2] He is richly draped and is bearded, while a band, whose exact nature is difficult to determine, usually runs round his head. The figures are, however, merely generalized and conventional like those of other poets and sages on the coin types figured by Bernoulli. The Paris contorniate must be reserved for fuller treatment, as a discussion of the literary evidence is important for its right understanding.

Pythagoras was, by writers who exceeded the canonical number of Seven, reckoned among the Sages; thus Hermippus places him sixteenth in a list of seventeen arranged in chronological order,[3] and Hippobotus makes him the last of twelve, beginning, significantly, from Orpheus.[4] The ancients seem to have seen in him almost the last man worthy of being reckoned among them of old time, the sages and lawgivers of their tradition. Even before his birth, Apollo proclaimed from Delphi that he

[1] For list see Bernoulli, *Gr. Ikonographie*, i. p. 275.
[2] Bern. *op. cit. Münztaf.* ii. Figs. 21–2; B.M. Cat. *Ionia*, Pl. XXXVII. 14.
[3] *Ap.* Diog. Laert. *Vit. Phil.* i. 1, 42. [4] *Ibid.*

should be a man *τῶν πώποτε κάλλει καὶ σοφίᾳ διοίσοντα*,[1] and Diogenes Laertius says *τὴν δὲ σεμνοπρέπειαν τοῦ Πυθαγόρου καὶ Τίμων ἐν τοῖς Σίλλοις δάκνων αὐτὸν ὅμως οὐ παρέλιπεν*.[2] His life did not belie the divine prediction, *ὡς δὴ δαίμων τις ἀγαθὸς ἐπιδημῶν τῇ Σάμῳ*,[3] and again we read, 'as he went about to the cities, the rumour spread that Pythagoras was come, not to teach but to heal.'[4]

His mind was deeply tinged with Oriental thought; he had travelled widely, in Egypt, Babylonia, Arabia, India even,[5] and was versed in the religious and philosophic systems of Egypt and Chaldaea, from which he adopted many tenets and observances, *e.g.* ceremonial sprinkling and lustration, silence, abstinence from certain kinds of food, and (probably) the entire doctrine of Metempsychosis.[6] The object of life was to be *ἁγνεία*[7]—ceremonial purity—which, once defiled, could only be regained by elaborate purification. Such defilement came by contact with death in any shape, by unchastity, by touching certain kinds of food—beans, flesh, cuttlefish, eggs and creatures raised from eggs.[8] His raiment was pure white and woven from wool, and though later legends declare that he wore only linen, as flax grows by the bounty of Heaven, whereas wool is taken from animals,[9] Herodotus speaks of the woollen garments of the Pythagoreans,[10] and Diogenes expressly states that he wore wool because 'the use of linen had not penetrated to those parts.'[11] Like all Ionians of the period, Pythagoras would wear his hair long, and the custom was kept up by his great disciple Empedocles in the next century[12] and by the later Pythagorean communities at least.[13] Oriental dress is attributed to him by Aelian,[14] but a Greek philosopher would hardly have worn the *ἀναξυρίδες* here mentioned. The coins show distinct traces of a band or kerchief round the head, and a statue with such a decoration might, taken in

[1] Iamblichus, *de vit. Pyth.* ii. 5. [2] *Vit.* 36.
[3] Iambl. *op. cit.* ii. 10. [4] Ael. *V.H.* iv. 17.
[5] Isocr. *Busiris*, 28; Strabo, xiv. 1. 16; Diog. Laert. *Vit.* viii. 13; Plut. *de Is. et Os.* 10; Philostr. *Vit. Apoll.* viii. 15, etc.
[6] See Hdt. ii. 122, 2.
[7] Diog. Laert. *Vit.* 33.
[8] It is clear that the question of Pythagorean ood was a disputed one; Aristoxenus (*ap. Aul. Gell.* iv. 11, 1) maintained that Pythagoras used no vegetable more frequently than beans, and the same authority declared (*ap.* Diog. Laert. *Vit. Pyth.* 20) that things which had life might be eaten by Pythagoreans, provided that they refrained from the plough-ox and the ram.
[9] Philostr. *Vit. Apoll.* i. 32, *et saepe.* [10] ii. 81. [11] *Vit.* 19.
[12] Diog. Laert. *Vit. Emped.* 73. [13] Athenaeus, iv. 163*e*; Philostr. *Vit. Apoll.* i. 32, 2.
[14] *V.H.* xii. 32.

connection with his Oriental travels, easily give rise to the idea that he adopted a purely Eastern dress.

As early as Herodotus even, myths had gathered round his name, and Aristotle is full of them; here, however, any discussion would be irrelevant, and the testimony of popular superstition is not needed in the face of the witness of antiquity from Xenophanes to Plato and Aristotle, to omit all lesser names.

Whether Pythagoras left any writing was a subject of dispute among the ancients. Galen,[1] Plutarch,[2] and Josephus[3] deny it, but Diogenes Laertius quotes a decisive passage from Heracleitus,[4] giving the names of three treatises, *παιδευτικόν*,[5] *πολιτικόν*, *φυσικόν*.[6] He also gives the first line of a *ἱερὸς λόγος*, on the authority of Heracleides,[4] which is, considering the Pythagorean system of silence, at least *ben trovato* :—

Ὦ νέοι, ἀλλὰ σέβεσθε μεθ' ἡσυχίης τάδε πάντα.

Many of his reputed sayings are also in metre.

Lucian gives us a comic view of the Pythagorean system,[7] and Pythagoras himself is accused of avarice and cheating, and is forced to inhabit the body of a cock as a punishment for silence in life. In the *Pseudo-Mantis*, on the other hand, the tone is widely different:[8] *ἀλλ' ἴλεως μὲν ὁ Πυθαγόρας εἴη, σοφὸς ἀνὴρ καὶ τὴν γνώμην θεσπέσιος.*

Two statues of Pythagoras are recorded, one in Rome set up during the Samnite War by command of Apollo,[9] the other in Constantinople,[10] but others in all probability existed, and it is *prima facie* highly probable that the fifth century, which saw the creation of the Anacreon, the Epimenides, the Seven, and other ideal portraits of similar character, also witnessed the erection of statues in honour of a man whose influence was felt by its greatest minds. From some such statue the Paris contorniate would appear to be derived; and this, the one important piece of monumental evidence hitherto brought forward, must now be dealt with (Fig. 1).

On the obverse of this, one of the most interesting of contorniate

[1] *De plac. Hipp. et. Plat.* 459.
[2] *De Virt. Alex.* i. 4, 328.
[3] *C. Apion.* i. 163.
[4] *Vit. Pyth.* 6 *seqq.*
[5] *Cf.* Plato, *Resp.* x. 600 B.
[6] Suidas, *s.v. Pythagoras*, mentions them also, doubtless from the same source.
[7] xlv. (*Somnium* seu *Gallus*) 4.
[8] xxxii. 4.
[9] Plut. *Vit. Num.* viii. 12: not noticed by Bernoulli. Plin. *N.H.* xxxiv. 26.
[10] Christodor. *Ecphrasis*, 120 *seqq.*

types, is a bust of Helios, radiate and holding a sceptre; on the reverse the inscription ΠΥΘΑΓΟΡΑC, and a figure of the philosopher seated on a high-backed throne, supporting his head on his left hand. The drapery is full and majestic, the gesture dignified and appropriate, the whole differing *toto caelo* from the conventional figures on the Samian coins. The head is of peculiar shape, deep from back to front, strongly curved behind and flat on top. It is encircled with, but not covered by, a sort of kerchief knotted on the right side,[1] and throwing a distinct shadow on the forehead. The neck is thick, the eye recessed and set far from the nose, the profile 'classical,' the nostrils well marked, the mouth shaded by a moustache which mingles with the close-cut pointed beard, recalling Martial's epigram,

Sic quasi Pythagorae loqueris successor et heres,
Praependet sane nec tibi barba minor. (ix. 47.)

FIG. 1.

The contorniate is on various grounds interesting. It is, in the first place, rare for the obverse type to bear any relation to the reverse, rarer still for that type to be the head of a divinity, but the connexion of Pythagoras with Apollo-Helios lay at the bottom of the popular conception of him as a divinely appointed leader of men, as the son of Light,[2] even as light itself.[3]

[1] In Sabatier (*Méd. Contorniates*, pl. xv. 1) and Visconti (*Iconogr. Gr.* pl. xvi. 3) this kerchief is not indicated. In the latter the engraver has mistaken for hair the projecting line across the brow. Fig. 1 is taken from a cast in the British Museum.

[2] '*Poeta quidam Samius*,' *ap.* Iamblichus, *Vit. Pyth.* 5.

[3] He was early identified with the Hyperborean Apollo (Aristotle, *Fragm.* vol. iv. p. 69[a], ed. Didot. (*Cf.* the later writers cited in this paper.)

It is highly probable that the figure is a copy of an actual statue; instances of such copies occur on a number of contorniates,[1] and the accuracy of detail, in close agreement with the literary evidence, implies acquaintance with, and faithfulness to, an actual original.

Among the unidentified philosopher-heads in the Capitol is one[2] (Fig. 2) unique in character, of excellent workmanship, though not, as Arndt suggests,[3] a Greek original, as the sculptor has misunderstood the arrange-

FIG. 2.

ment of the hair. It represents a man in middle life, wearing a kerchief bound turban-wise about his head and knotted over the right ear, casting a strong shadow on the forehead. The skull is square in form, broad between the temples and very flat on top. The neck is unusually thick, and the

[1] I hope to deal at length with these types in a forthcoming number of the *Numismatic Chronicle.*

[2] Sala dei Filosofi 80; illustrated *Mus. Capit.* i. 88, 'Archytas of Tarentum'; Arndt-Bruckmann, *Gr. u. röm. Porträts*, 151–2. Cp. Bernoulli, *Griechische Ikonographie* ii, p. 17. I owe the photograph here reproduced to the kindness of Mr. Stuart Jones.

[3] Text to *Gr. u. röm. Porträts* 152–2.

head set well forward upon it. The eyebrows are straight and the lids clear-cut, the upper thin, the lower full and drooping. The eyeballs are so prominent as, seen from the front, almost to form an angle with the outer corners of the eyes; and it is this peculiar treatment which gives that expression of remoteness, of mystic earnestness, which distinguishes the head from all others.[1] The nose is, unfortunately, modern. The mouth is small and curved, the upper lip thin, the lower straighter and very thick. The drooping ends of the moustache mingle with the pointed beard, which is, like them, composed of fine wavy locks, adding much to the straightness of the profile. The hair has evidently puzzled the copyist, and he has worked out no definite scheme, only marking the masses by a series of irregular lines. In the original the locks clearly were turned back from the face and plaited round the head, while the hair growing behind the ears was similarly treated; instead of these plaits we have here a roll of hair beneath the kerchief, and a mass of lines, mainly parallel to this roll, below, ending abruptly above the neck. The same treatment is applied to the space on top of the head above the kerchief, where it is entirely inappropriate. It is clear that in the original the hair was laid in plaits round the head, but, the fashion being unknown to him, the copyist has worked unintelligently though with sufficient faithfulness to enable us to reconstruct the original from his rendering of it.[2]

A comparison with the contorniate leads to the conclusion that both represent not the same man merely but the same work. The correspondence in every detail is too minute to be accidental. It is impossible to describe one head in terms that do not equally apply to the other, and the literary evidence, though insufficient in itself to form a basis for any identification, strongly confirms the attribution,[3] which is made certain from the inscription on the contorniate.

The date of the original was, probably, earlier than that proposed by Dr. Arndt, who assigns it to the turn of the fifth and fourth centuries. If we accept Furtwängler's date, 445–440, for the Anacreon

[1] [Plaster has been used to restore the eyeballs, and it is not therefore advisable to lay too much stress on their present form.—H. S. J.]

[2] The head has been compared with a bronze portrait-head in the Naples Museum (No. 5607) from the villa of the Pisones at Herculaneum. (Comparetti and de Petra, *La Villa Ercolanese*, Pl. VIII, 2; *Mus. Ital.* iii, Pl. V; *Gr. u. röm. Porträts* 153–4; but this, as I hope to shew elsewhere, represents a different individual.)

[3] The treatment of the eyes recalls the phrase of Christodorus (*Ecphr. l.c.*) where he says of Pythagoras, Οὐρανὸν ἀχράντοισιν ἐμέτρεε μοῦνον ὀπωπαῖς.

Borghese [1]—and it is in every way probable—we must allow a date at least equally early for the Pythagoras, which is distinctly less advanced and plastic in the treatment of hair and mouth.

The original was certainly bronze, as a careful examination of the head (for the technique) and the contorniate (for the drapery and details) makes absolutely certain, and may probably be assigned to the early Pheidian period, when Athens had recovered from the Persian Wars and was peopling her city with noble forms of gods and men.[2]

It is interesting to find Dr. Arndt writing thus of the head and the problem of the turban: 'Dürfen wir annehmen, dass der Turban als Attribut auch solchen Leuten verleihen wurde, die nicht dauernd in einem der genannten Länder (*i.e.* Chaldaea and Egypt) wohnten, wie Solon, Pythagoras, dieselben nur für kürzere Zeit aufsuchten?' The contorniate, with its trustworthy presentment of a statue and its inscription, makes it possible to decide the matter, and to identify this portrait as a fifth-century ideal of the man who could create the doctrine of the Music of the Spheres,[3] of whom it was said that he was the son of Light itself,[4] whose rule of life was Μὴ λέγειν ἄνευ φωτός.[5]

NOTE.—There is a further point of importance in regard to the date of the original statue from which the contorniate and bust are derived. The *cathedra* on which he is seated is not the typical *cathedra* of the Roman professor,[6] neither is it the familiar armchair type of the third century, on which Poseidippus and his companion-poet are seated in the famous Vatican statues.[7] On the other hand, this form occurs on many

[1] *M. W.* p. 93.

[2] Of the sculptor it is impossible to speak with any degree of certainty. Cresilas is out of the question, from the difference between the heavy eyelids of the Pericles and those of this head, which, seen in profile, disappear under the brow. Colotes, *qui* (*fecit*) *philosophos*, is possible, but we know nothing of his work. There is a strong likeness between this head and the bearded Dionysos in the Mus. Chiaramonti (No. 44), (*M. W.* p. 95). The spirit of the two is identical, and there are mannerisms in both which, despite the later date of the Dionysos, can hardly be assigned to different hands. I incline to think the Pythagoras an early work by the master of the Dionysos. I owe to Mr. Stuart Jones this interesting and suggestive comparison.

[3] Arist. *de Caelo*, ii. 9.

[4] '*Poeta quidam Samius*,' *ap.* Iamblichus, *Vit. Pyth.* 5.

[5] Iamblich. *Vit.* 84.

[6] See for example *Daremberg* and *Saglio*, p. 971, Fig. 1225.

[7] Br. Bruckm. *Denkm.* Nos. 494, 495.

fifth-century vases[1] and stelae,[2] and there can be little doubt that the date of this form of *cathedra* offers a further confirmation of the period and character of the original.

[1] *E.g.* Gerh. *Gr. Vasenbilder*, Nos. 305, 306.

[2] Conze, *Attische Grabreliefs*, Tafelband i. ; xxi. ; xxiii. 125 ; xxvi. ; xxvii. 62, 63. Fourth-century examples are numerous and include the stele of Hegeso.

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Fig. 1. View S. from Castel Giubileo: Villa Spada in the Distance (*p.* 22).

Fig. 2. Via Salaria at Twenty-fourth Mile, looking W.S.W. (*p.* 32).

Fig. 3. Villa Platform known as Grotte di Torri, W.N.W. Angle (*p.* 36).

Fig. 4. Ponte del Diavolo, Via Salaria (*p.* 38).

Fig. 5. Tomb known as Sedia del Diavolo, Via Nomentana (*p.* 45).

Fig. 6. General View of Sixth Terrace Wall on Colle Tiburtino, Palombara (*p.* 78).

Fig. 7. Cistern on Sixth Terrace, Colle Tiutillo, Palombara (*p.* 78).

Fig. 8. Detail of Sixth Terrace Wall on Colle Tiutillo, Palombara (*p.* 78).

Fig. 9. Detail of Third Terrace Wall, Colle Tiutillo, Palombara (*p.* 78).

Fig. 10. Via Tiburtina at Bagni (*p.* 120).

Fig. 11. Aqueduct at the Travertine Quarries near Bagni (*p.* 123).

Fig. 12. Ponte Lucano, Via Tiburtina (*p.* 126).

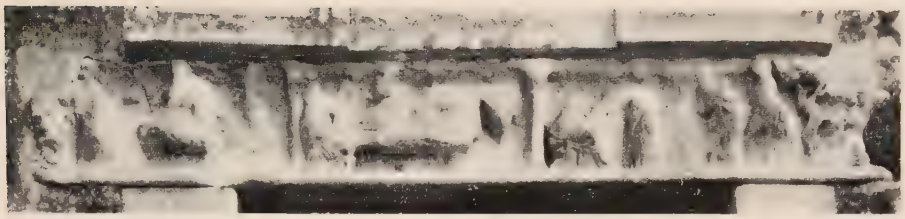

Fig. 13. Relief built into a Chapel near Corcolle (*p.* 138).

Fig. 16. Wall of Lower Platform, Villa of Quintilius Varus (*p.* 156).

Fig. 14. Viaduct over Fosso di Ponte Terra (*p.* 147).

Fig. 15. Ponte dell' Acquoria (*p.* 151).

Fig. 17. Nymphaeum at S. Antonio (*p.* 161).

Fig. 18. Ancient Road on S.W. Slopes of Monte Sterparo (*p.* 164).

Fig. 19. Supporting Wall of Ancient Road on S.W. Slopes of Monte Sterparo (*p.* 164).

Fig. 20. Supporting Wall of Villa Platform at Colle Nocelle (*p.* 168).

Fig. 21. Tank in Platform of Villa at Casale Vitriano (*p.* 169).

Fig. 23. Lower Platform of Villa on Colle del Tesoro (*p.* 172).

Fig. 22. Lower Platform of Villa on Colle Vitriano (*p.* 170).

Fig. 26. Drain in Wall of Villa Platform, Colle Cigliano (*p.* 173).

Fig. 24. Cyclopean Wall under Wall of Mediaeval Castle, Colle Turrita (*p.* 172).

Fig. 25. Caves on Colle Cigliano (*p.* 173).

Fig. 27. Lowest Platform at Monteverde (*p.* 175).

Fig. 28. Uppermost Platform at Monteverde (*p.* 175).

Fig. 29. Wall under Castle at Montecelio (*p.* 183).

Fig. 30. Villa Platform at Vallemara, near S. Angelo (*p.* 185).

Fig. 31. Supporting Wall of Villa Platform N. of S. Angelo (*p.* 187).

Fig. 32. Villa Platform at Twenty-sixth Kilomètre of Modern Highroad (*p.* 189).

Fig. 33. Terrace Wall of Villa below Villa dei Greci (*p.* 190).

Fig. 34. Upper Terrace Wall of Villa near Regresso (*p.* 191).

Fig. 35. Lower Terrace Wall of Villa near Regresso (*p.* 191).

Fig. 36. Supporting Wall of Road (*p.* 194).

Fig. 37. Bridge at Quarto Pomata (*p.* 195).

Fig. 1.

Fig. 2.

I

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III

IV

V

VI

VII

VIII

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IV

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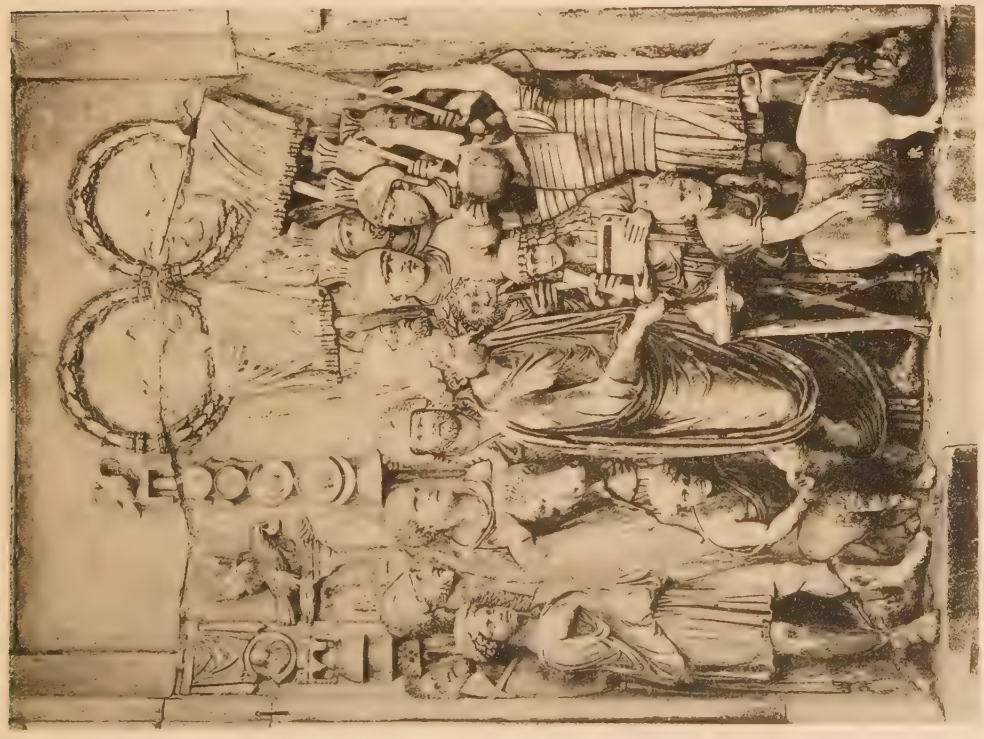
IX



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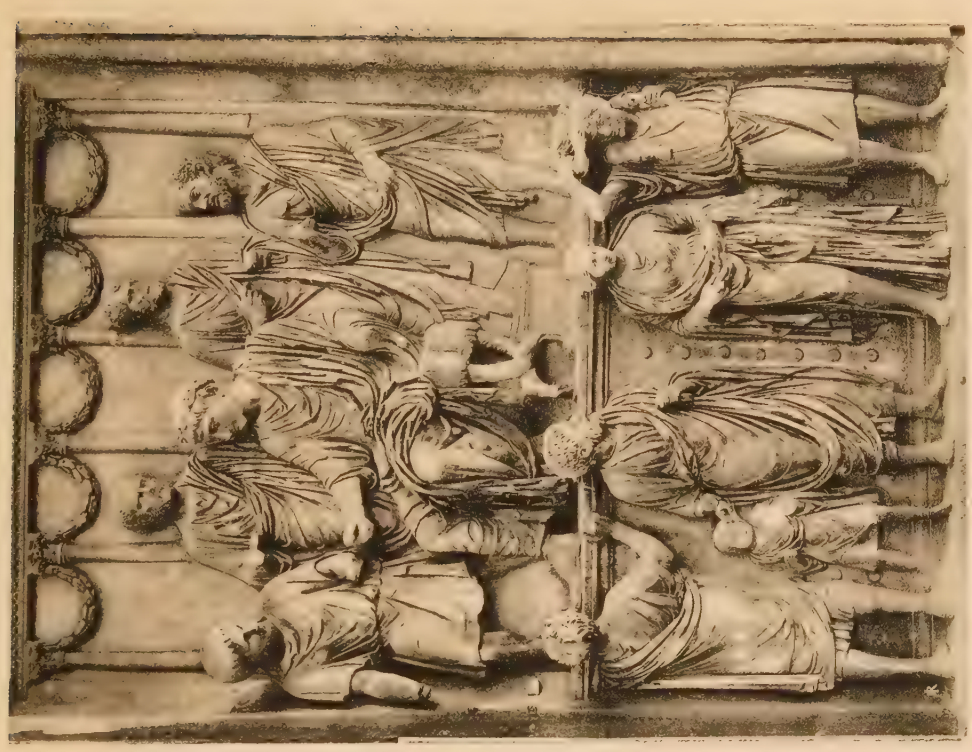

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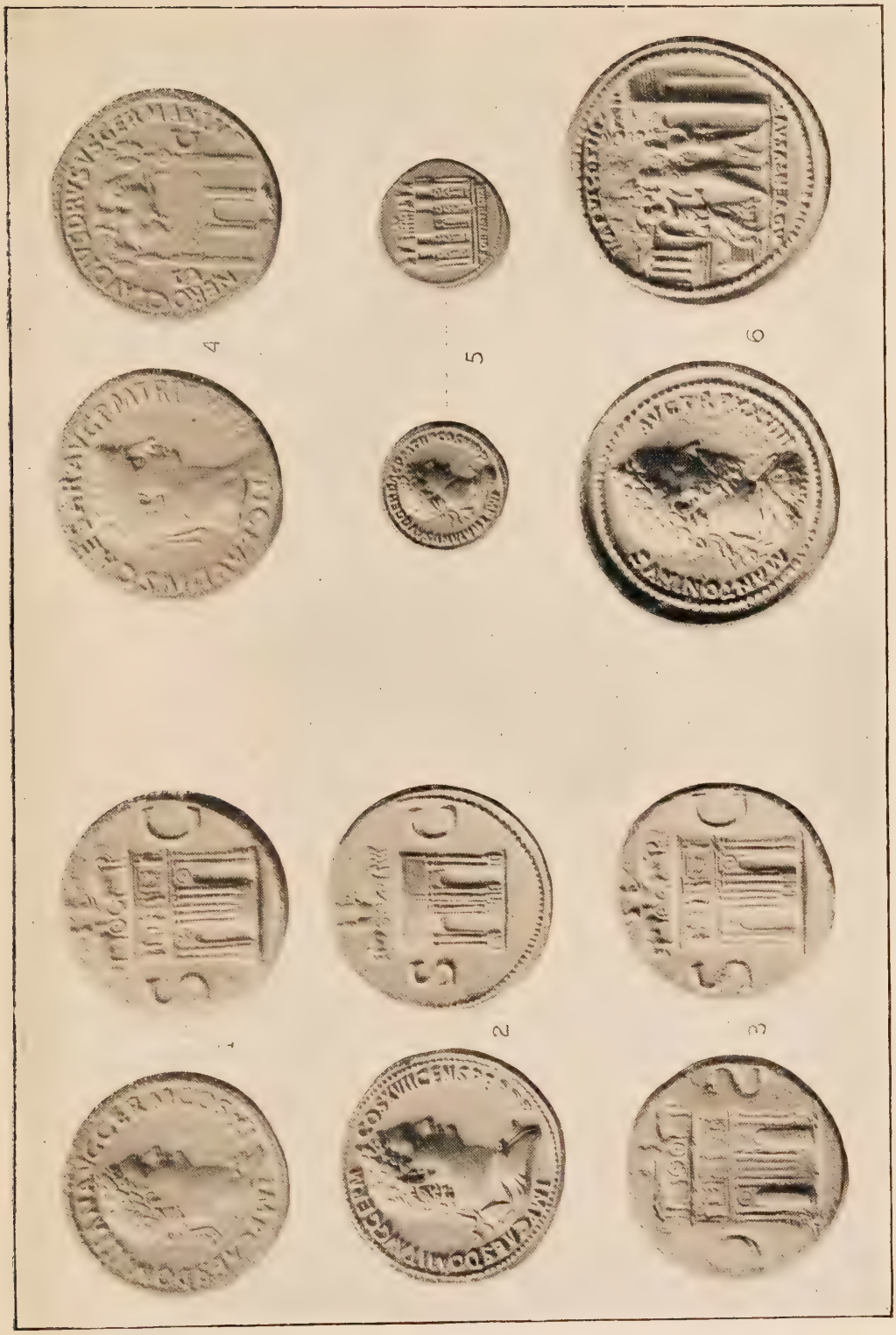

Fig. 1.

Fig. 2.

Fig. 3.

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